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CENTRE FOR BYZANTINE, OTTOMAN AND MODERN GREEK STUDIES

UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM

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List of Abbreviations

AASS	<i>Acta Sanctorum</i>
AB	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i>
ABSA	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
AHR	<i>American Historical Review</i>
B	<i>Byzantion</i>
BF	<i>Byzantinische Forschungen</i>
BHG	<i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca</i>
BMGS	<i>Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies</i>
BNJ	<i>Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher</i>
BS	<i>Byzantinoslavica</i>
BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
CFHB	<i>Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae</i>
CSCO	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium</i>
CSHB	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae (Bonn)</i>
DHGE	<i>Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique</i>
DIEE	<i>Δελτίον τῆς ἱστορικῆς καὶ ἐθνολογικῆς ἐταιρείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος</i>
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
DTC	<i>Dictionnaire de théologie catholique</i>
EEBS	<i>Ἑπετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν</i>
EHR	<i>English Historical Review</i>
EO	<i>Échos d'Orient</i>
GRBS	<i>Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies</i>
IRAIG	<i>Izvestija Russkago Arkheologičeskago Instituta v Konstantinopole</i>
JA	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>
JGR	<i>J. & P. Zepos, Jus Graecoromanum</i>
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
JÖB	<i>Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik</i>
JÖBG	<i>Jahrbuch der österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft</i>
MGH	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i>

<i>MPG</i>	J.P. Migne, <i>Patrologia series Graeco-Latina</i>
<i>MPL</i>	J.P. Migne, <i>Patrologia series Latina</i>
<i>OCP</i>	<i>Orientalia Christiana Periodica</i>
<i>PO</i>	<i>Patrologia Orientalis</i>
<i>RE</i>	<i>Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> (Pauly-Wissowa)
<i>REB</i>	<i>Revue des Études Byzantines</i>
<i>REG</i>	<i>Revue des Études Grecques</i>
<i>ROC</i>	<i>Revue de l'Orient Chrétien</i>
<i>VV</i>	<i>Vizantijskij Vremennik</i>
<i>ZDMG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
<i>ZRVI</i>	<i>Zbornik Rádova Vizantološkog Instituta</i>

Aretos ya^cni Sevdâ: The Nineteenth Century Ottoman Translation of the 'Erotokritos'

JOHANN STRAUSS

The popularity of Vincenzo Cornaro's *Erotokritos* among Cretan Muslims is well known.¹ In the nineteenth century even the Ottoman authorities of the Island took some interest in this work, and the then Ottoman Governor General, the Epirot Sava Pasha,² allocated 3,000 francs in 1887 to the local scholar Antonios Giannaris who had been assigned by the Cretan General Assembly to prepare an edition of the text.³

Much less has been known so far about the Ottoman translation of the 'Erotokritos' which is referred to from time to time mainly by Greek scholars. An explicit reference is given by Stylianos

1. Stylianos Alexiou, the editor of the critical edition, says that he had met as late as 1970 an old Turkocretan in Izmir who asked him to send him a copy of the 'Erotokritos' from Greece (Stylianos Alexiou [ed.], *Vitsentsos Kornaros, Erotokritos. Kritikê Ekdosê, Eisagôgê, Sêmeiôseis, Glôssario* [Athens 1980] 103). The Norwegian scholar Egil Danielsen (Oslo) wrote to me in a letter (5 August 1991): 'I can just confirm that the Erotokritos is well known among Cretans in Turkey, and that the "political verse" which is its poetic form is extremely well known through the so called "mantinâdes", verses which they actually still produce in the Cretan dialect!'

2. Sava Pasha [Iôannês Savvas] was born in Yannina in 1832. He was trained in the Medical School (*Mekteb-i Tibbiye*) and accompanied in 1867 the grand vizier Aali Pasha (1815-1871) to Crete where he was appointed as *mutasarrîf* of Sphakia. He held various posts in the administration of justice and became also director of the famous *lycée* of Galatasaray (*Galatasaray Mekteb-i Sultanîsi*). In 1877 he obtained the rank of a vizier and was consequently appointed Minister of Foreign affairs. In May 1885 he succeeded Photiades Pasha as Governor General of Crete. After his retirement he moved to Paris where he died in 1902 (see Mahmud Cevâd, *Maarif-i umumiye tarihçe-i teşkilât ve icraatı* [Istanbul 1338 (1922)], esp. 153).

3. Giannaris apparently did not make the best use of this money. Despite his extensive travel activity which led him among other places to London, Venice, Milan and Paris the promised edition was never published. Giannaris eventually died in 1909 while he was departing for the United States (Alexiou, 28f.).

Alexiou in the introductory part of his critical edition of the 'Erotokritos'. He refers to an article published in the Canean newspaper *Mesogeios* of 24 April 1893, stating that the Turkish translation of the 'Erotokritos' was the work of a 'Turkocretan in collaboration with a Turk from Constantinople'.⁴ Unfortunately, however, Alexiou does not say if the names of the translators and the place and date of publication are mentioned there. As far as even the most comprehensive Turkish works on literary history and translation are concerned, there is no mention of an Ottoman translation of Vincenzo Cornaro's 'Erotokritos'.⁵ The work itself seems to be unknown to them. However, a catalogue of the well-known Istanbul Armenian bookseller (*Kitapçı*) Arakel [Arrakel Tozlian] published in 1301 [1883/84], advertises in the section 'Novels' (*romanlar*) a work translated from the Greek, which is not mentioned in the literature. Without naming the author or the translators, it is described as follows:

Erâtôs ya'ni Sevdâ [Eratos, i.e. Love] * Its contents consist of a curious story in terms of a biography of one of the well-known ancient Greek (*Yunan*) kings, the famous ruler called Irakli. In short, it is a work which describes in a very touching way the curious experiences of a love-lorn (*sevdâzede*) man who lands on the shore of salvation after having eventually narrowly escaped the storms he was confronted with in the ocean of love and passion (*ask usevdâ*). It is translated from the Greek (*rumca*).⁶

In Seyfeddin Özege's 'Catalogue of Turkish Books in the Old Script',⁷ this book is listed under the title *Aretos yâni Sevdâ*, a volume of 301 pages. Rifat and Ali Refik are named as translators. But no date and place of publication are given.⁸

4. Alexiou, *op. cit.*, 103.

5. The Turkish literary historian Ismail Habib [Sevük] (1892-1954) in his *Avrupa Edebiyatı ve Biz. Garpten Tercümeler*, 2 vols., Istanbul 1940-41, although listing a considerable number of translations from Ancient Greek, makes no reference to a Turkish version of the 'Erotokritos'. (See the chapter 'Yunan Edebiyatından Tercümeler', I, 62-81).

6. *Arakel Kütüphanesi esami-i kütübü* (Istanbul 1301 [1883-84]) 190.

7. *Eski Harflerle Basılmış Türkçe Eserler Katalogu*, 5 vols. (Istanbul 1971-79).

8. Özege, I, 67, Nr. 910.

However inadequate the description in Arakel's catalogue may be, it contains elements which match fairly well with the story of the 'Erotokritos'.

By chance, I was able to see a copy of this apparently rather rare book, and fortunately, the original provides much more exact data. The title reads *Tercüme-i 'Eretos' ya'ni Sevdâ* ['Translation of Eretos, i.e. Love¹⁰]. The two translators are described more precisely as Rif'at from Istanbul ('Asitaneli') and the Çretan Ali Refik from Candia ('*Girid Kandiyali*'), both of them students at the Imperial War Academy (*Mekteb-i Fünun-i Harbiye-i Şahâne*).¹¹ As the back-cover indicates, the first fascicule (*cüz'*) was printed 1 Ramadan 1290 [23 October 1873] at the printing press of El-Hac Mustafa Efendi in the Kafesçi Sokağı near the sublime Porte, some twenty years before it found its way into the columns of the *Mesogeios*.

The translators and their work

In the preface (*mukaddime*) the two translators give an interesting account of their procedure. As would-be soldiers they were prepared to serve their nation (*millet*), fatherland (*vatan*) and state (*devlet*) with sword and pen, body and soul. But in order to achieve this aim, they needed training and experience, at that stage especially through extensive reading, even during their leisure time.

Sitting under the shadowy trees in the park of the War Academy in Pangaltı, they undertook the translation of the 'Erotokritos'

9. Due to the ambiguity of the Arabic characters it may also be read as 'Eratos', 'Eratus', 'Eretus', &c. To make things more confusing, the same name is spelt Aretos (or Aretus, &c.) in the main text.

10. The Turkish word *sevda* 'love and passion' is derived from Arabic *sawdâ* 'blackness', 'black bile' (one of the four humours of ancient medicine) and then extended to 'spleen, melancholy'. From Turkish this word entered most Balkanic languages (Modern Greek *sevdás* 'unrequited love, passion') as well as the derivative *sevdalı* (Greek *sevtalis*) 'love-lorn, love-sick'.

11. See plate. The Imperial War Academy (also known as *Mekteb-i Ulum-i Harbiye*) in Istanbul was inaugurated 1 July 1835 by Sultan Mahmud II (1809-39) on the premises of the army barracks in Maçka. The school was reformed several times. (On its history see Osman Ergin 'Harbiye Mektebi', *Aylık Ansiklopedi* 1, (Istanbul 1945) 175-78.

during the two months' summer vacation from 15 June to 15 August 1873 which they used for the reading of some pretty stories (*güzcelce hikâyeler*) written in foreign languages. 'Every day we read the story of "Aretos" in the Greek language from one end to the other.' Since this story dealt with love and affection (*alâka ve mahabbet*) they were particularly fond of its charming content. Unfortunately, however, they say, this book was written in Greek, and therefore, the 'breeze of its delicate content was unable to blow in the realm of the Ottomans' intelligence'.¹² Benefitting from their training, they decided therefore to translate it into the Ottoman language.

Since it is highly improbable that there were classes in Modern Greek at the War Academy, 'training' seems to refer here to composition in general and translation exercises served the same purpose. The translation belongs thus to the category that the Ottomans used to call *tecürbe-i kalem*, 'exercise of the pen'. We do not know if both translators were familiar with the Modern Greek language to the same extent. It is possible, that the Stambouliot Rifat acted just as a *musahhih* (corrector), who improved the style, whereas the grecophone Candiot Ali Refik did the actual translation work.¹³ Surprisingly enough, nothing is said by the translators either about the author of the work which they had obviously translated with such enthusiasm, or about the area it originated from, although we should take for granted that at least the Cretan translator was well aware of its popularity especially among his fellow countrymen. This discretion was, however, not uncommon at that time and scholarly introductions to translated works were practically unknown.

The translation

Stylistically, the '*Tercüme-i Eretos*' belongs to the category of translations composed in what some contemporary writers used

12. '*ne'sîm-i me'al-i rikkat-istimali . . . iklim-i iz'an-î Osmaniâyânda vezân edememesi*' (p.3.)

13. This procedure was fairly common in translations from Western languages printed in Egypt under Muhammad 'Ali Pasha.

to call *üslub-i kadim* ('old style'),¹⁴ in order to distinguish it from the more modern type of translation. The archetype for the former kind was the translation by Yusuf Kâmil Pasha (1808-76) of Fénelon's *Les Aventures de Télémaque* (1859; first published 1862), which is conventionally considered as the starting point of literary translation in Ottoman Turkish.¹⁵ Fénelon's work was rendered by the Ottoman vizier in such a pompous style of ornate poetic prose (*inşa*) that it was considered almost as an original composition. It was not only reprinted several times, but also found its way into text-books, chrestomathies &c., to serve as a model for prose composition. A more literal and accurate translation of the *Télémaque* in relatively simple Turkish prose, published by Ahmed Vefik Pasha (1823-91) some twenty years later (1881) did not enjoy the popularity of the older version.¹⁶

Kâmil Pasha's translation also certainly served as a model for the translators of the 'Erotokritos', who started their work only fourteen years later.¹⁷ In the case of the 'Erotokritos' — unlike Fénelon's *Télémaque* an originally versified work — that kind of stylistically elaborate prose¹⁸ was even more appropriate since

14. A term used by Ali Muzaffer in his treatise *Tercüme nümuneleri* ('Specimens of Translations') (Istanbul 1318 [1900]).

15. Translations into Turkish from Western languages printed in Armenian characters had been published already some decades earlier. See A. Turgut Kut, 'Ermeni harflî Türkçe te'lif ve tercüme konuları I', *Beşinci Milletler Arası Türkoloji Kongresi. Tebliğler II. Türk Edebiyatı* (Istanbul 1985) 195-214.

16. On Turkish translations during this period see Saliha Paker, 'The Age of Translation and Adaptation, 1850-1914. Turkey', Robin Ostle (ed.), *Modern Literature in the Near and Middle East, 1850-1970* (London-New York 1991) 17-44.

17. In the same year (1873) another Turkish version of a classical story of love and adventure was published in Istanbul, Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*, translated from the French by Mehmed Kâmil (*Dafni ile Kloe'nin hikâye-i ta'assukları*). Between 1862-1872 only approximately a dozen translations had come forth. Among these were Ottoman versions of Defoe's 'Robinson Crusoe' (tr. Ahmed Lutfi; 1864); some of Molière's plays adapted by Ahmed Vefik Pasha; a Turkish version of Bernardin de Saint Pierre's 'Paul et Virginie' (tr. Emin Siddik; 1870); of Châteaubriand's 'Atala' (tr. Recaizade Mahmud Ekrem; 1870); of Lamartine's 'Graziella' (tr. Ali; 1871); Dumas Père's 'Comte de Monte Cristo' (Teodor Kasap; 1871), and of Swift's 'Gulliver's Travels' (tr. Mahmud Nedim; 1872).

18. On the development of Turkish prose-writing see Barbara Flemming, 'Bemerkungen zur türkischen Prosa vor der Tanzimat-Zeit', *Der Islam* 50 (1973) 157-67.

the Ottoman *inşa*-style includes certain rhetorical elements which are rather alien to the Western concept, such as sections of rhymed prose (*sec*'), or the extensive use of the so-called *‘atf-i tefsir*, i.e. the coupling of synonyms.¹⁹

Given this concern for stylistical brilliance, we cannot expect the translation to be very close to the original. Kâmil Pasha himself was little concerned that his 'translation' of *Télémaque* was 'complete'.²⁰ A comparison reveals that the *Erotokritos* was similarly rendered. Unless the translators used an otherwise unknown Greek version,²¹ it is truncated.

The most puzzling aspect of this translation is the rendering of the names of the protagonists of the 'Erotokritos'. The spellings in the *Erotokritos* itself are not consistent, so it is not surprising to find that the female protagonist 'Aretousa', which appears occasionally as 'Areti' in the original, is consistently 'Areti' in the Ottoman translation. But 'Erotokritos' (or 'Ro[to]kritos') can hardly explain the corresponding Ottoman 'Aretos'. I have no idea either why 'Artemi' is 'Aretimi', 'Pezostratos' 'Pezostris' and 'Polydhoros' 'Polidhis' &c. It is unlikely that they are misprints. In this respect, further research is necessary.

Reception

I have not been able to trace any reference to the reception of this translation among an Ottoman readership. It seems that it passed unnoticed. There is no reprint known either.

Possible explanations are the inexperience of the young trans-

19. See Jean Deny, *Grammaire de la langue turque (Dialecte osmanli)* (Paris 1921) 669 ff. *‘atf-i tefsir* was originally meant to fix more precisely the meaning, but in most cases it is a purely stylistical device, characteristic for the *inşa*-style.

20. In his preface to the *Tercüme-i Telemak* he described his method of translation as 'summarising, i.e. summing up the content' (*‘ala vechi l-icmal ya‘ni hulasatu l-me‘al suretde*).

21. John Mavrogordato says in his *The Erotokritos* (London 1929) 2 n. 2 that 'the Erotokritos held a prominent place in the street literature of Constantinople before the War'. The *katharevousa* version of Vincenzo Kornaro's work by Dionysios Photeinos (1769-1821), *Neos Erotokritos*, first published in Vienna 1818, had been reprinted in Istanbul in 1845.

lators who, unlike other translators of the period, were to remain virtually unknown,²² or the preference of the Ottomans for authors whose international reputation was established. The 'Erotokritos' was equally then unknown, except to its Greek audience and some specialists. There was no critical edition of the text; its very authorship and date were still unresolved. We do not know how familiar the translators were with these problems, but they did nothing to familiarize the reader with its author and explain the popularity of the *Erotokritos*. The disfiguration of names, which has prevented an identification of the original until now, may also have obscured things.

More astonishing, however, is the fact, that even among the Cretan Muslims the translation of the *Erotokritos* into what many of them considered as their 'national language' does not seem to have enjoyed any fame either. Although the Turkocretans had produced many poets and learned men writing in Ottoman-Turkish in the nineteenth century, they obviously found the Greek version, written in their mother-tongue, much more enjoyable.

The Cretan Ahmet Cevat Emre,²³ for instance, who later became one of the most distinguished linguists in Republican Turkey dedicates a whole chapter of his 'Memoirs' to the *Erotokritos*: a tragical love-epic (*acıklı aşk destanı*) which he read to his mother in Greek, of course.²⁴ He stresses how much the *Erotokritos* and ancient Greek mythology had contributed to the formation of his literary taste. But this well-read and learned author mentions no Ottoman translation of the *Erotokritos*.

Not all Cretan Muslims were so fond of Vincenzo Cornaro's work. This is the case especially of more nationalist-minded

22. I have not found any other works translated by these authors.

23. Ahmed Cevat Emre was born in 1876 in the Kadiri-*tekke* near Rethymno. Like our translators he was later a student of the *Mekteb-i Harbiye*. Apart from his linguistic works, he is also known as the translator of Homer's *Odyssey* (2 vols., 1941-2), *Iliad* (1957) and Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* (1945) into Turkish. He died in 1961.

24. Ahmet Cevat Emre, *İki neslin tarihi* (Istanbul 1960) 12. Ahmed Cevat's mother was very moved by this story, the same as some women and girls from the neighbourhood.

individuals, for whom Modern Greek literature as a whole was more or less indigestible. In an article published 9 February 1911 in a local Turkish newspaper in Canea, the author denounces a plan to award a French scholar with 7,000 francs in order to translate the *Erotokritos* which 'a Greek poet called Viçenco (sic!) Kornaro had composed in the Middle Ages in the language of the common people (*avamm lisani*).²⁵ The author of the article, considering this as another attempt to promote the cause of Hellenism and therefore of the annexation of Crete to Greece, rejects the Greek character of the 'Erotokritos' with the following argument: 'In the Greek alphabet, there is no letter "ç". Words containing a "ç" or "c" are not Greek. It is evident that therefore Viçenco Kornaro was just a Roman who had been Hellenised when the Romans ruled Crete.'

'I have studied this work repeatedly', he adds, 'but I could not find any literary value in it. It just tells a banal love-story. That is what this work consists of: a work, which the Cretan Christians do not cease to exalt and praise immensely.'²⁵

A certain scorn for the vernacular tongue becomes apparent, when he says: 'There is no indication in the work as to the date of its composition. But it becomes clear from the dialect (*şive-i lisan*) that it was written when Greek (*Yunan dili*) had become an abandoned language. It is written in the Cretan language, which is spoken here today and which consists of 99 different languages'.²⁶

This rather exceptional view contrasts vividly with the delight expressed by Ahmed Cevat Emre and the young translators. As to their version of the *Erotokritos*, it may not be surprising after all that it never became a best seller (as Romanian and other translations became in more congenial surroundings elsewhere).

25. '... medh ede ede göklere çıkarageldikleri eser'.

26. *Istikbal*, Nr. 132 (9 February 1326 [1911]) 3. On this paper see my 'The Cretan Muslims and their struggle for Ottomanism: Some evidence from the periodical press' (*Sadâ-yî Gîrid, Istikbal*), *V. Milletlerarasî Türkiye Sosyal ve İktisat Tarihi Kongresi. Tebliğler* (Ankara 1990) 55-56.

This does not, however, diminish the significance of their work: Whereas many classical authors were translated by learned Ottomans from Greek (sometimes also from French), the work of the two students of the Imperial War Academy was the first and only attempt ever made to translate a major work of Modern Greek literature into Ottoman-Turkish.

University of Freiburg

﴿ ترجمہ ﴾

(ارہ توس - یعنی سودا)

(جزو)

(مترجمی)

مکتب فنون حریہ شاہانہ شاگردانند
آستانہ لی رفعت و کریم قندہ لی علی رفیق

معارف نظارہ جلیلہ سینک رخصتہ طبع
اولیٰ مدرسہ ہر حق مترجمہ عالم اولوب
مہر سز نسختہ ری ہر کیہ بولور سہ مسوادر

سائر جزواری دخی دردست طبعدر

فیات مقطوعہ سی

۲ غروش

// (p.5) **Aretos yâni Sevdâ**

Yunan kişver-i meşhurenin âfâkî mihr-i ulum ve maarifle ziyadar; ve şaşa'a-i medeniyet ve nezaket o diyar-î latif ahalisinin basıra-i insaniyelerini tenvire ibtidar eylediği bir zaman-î maarif-nişanda ki — henüz milad-î hazret-i İsa aleyhisselam zînetres-i sahayif-i âlem-i fena-encam olmamış idi — Atina şehr-i şehîrinde câlis-i sandali-i hükümrânî olan İRAKLI nâm hükümdar benâm kendüsindensonra vâris-i taht-i saltanat olacak bir evlâdî bulunmamasindandolayî mahzun — ve havze-i hükûmetindeki iklim diğer bir familyanın dest-i tasarruf ve idaresine geçeceği hâtirasile gamnâk ve dilhun — idi.

Birçok zaman sonra şems-i tâlic ve ikbali matlacu l-envar-î hayra suûd eylediğinde zevcesi ARETİMÎden ARETÎ nâmında bir duhter-i pâkize-ahterinin kadem-nihâde-i mehd-i vücudü payitaht-i saltanata // (p. 6) başkaca bir ziya-yî iftihar neşr u izhar eyledi.

Binaenaleyh metbuc-i mufahhamlerinin böyle bir saâdete nailiyetdendolayî ifa-yî teşekkür ve mahmedet ve hâsil olan şadumanî ve meserrete alâmet olmak üzere bilcümle benadir ve biladda alelulum âyan ve ibad ikad-î kanadil-i fahr u şad ile hayret-nüma-yî çeşm-i temaşa olacak derecelerde şehr ayinler icra etdiler [. . .]

İşte bu şeref ve saadete şerik olan ve kiralîn hüsn-i teveccüh ve iltifatına mazhariyetindennâşi // (p. 7) vezir-i âzam ve vekil-i mutlakî add olunmakda bulunan PEZOSTRÎSin on yaşında zekâvet ve fetanette yekta — zarafet ve nezaketde bî-hemta — bir ferzend-i müstesnası var idi- ki ARETOS nâmile benam idi. Bu çocuk ilm ü irfanî sevdiği ve dâima aâzîm-î ulema ve fuzela ile hembezm olmağı arzu ettiği cihetle her vakit anlarla düşer kalkar — ve gece gündüz kemalât-î insaniye tahsiline sayı etmeye bakar idi.

Ne çareki tâlic-i nâsaz ve baht-î kine-perdazî zihnine hilaf-i memul bir takîm efkâr — ve hava-yî sevda-yî zülf-i dildar nefh u ilkasiyle birçok felakete giriftar — ve kişver ve vücudünün hâkim-i mutlakî olan akl u şuurunu aşk denilen bir Hûlagü'ye mağlub ederek cevahir-i mârifetle müzeyyen tahtgâh-î dilini serapâ

tar u mar eyledi. Çünkü ARETİ'nin ateş-i aşkla derun ve birunu uluvnâk ve hançer-i derd ve mahabbetiyle ciğeri pür yare ve çak olmağla (sic) başladı bir lahza müşahid-i cemali olmaksızın duramaz — nim-i dakika yare-i iftirakın acısına // (p. 8) dayanub ah etmeksizin oturamazdı.

Translation:

'At a time characterized by knowledge, when the horizons of the famous country of Greece were illumined by the moon-light of sciences and knowledge and the splendour of civilisation and refinement began to enlighten the human sight of the people of these pleasant lands (the birth of Jesus — peace be upon him — had not yet adorned the pages of this transitory world) a ruler called Irakli [= Iraklis] occupied the sovereign's throne of the famous city of Athens. Since he had no heir to succeed him on the throne he was afflicted with grief and the idea that the land he ruled should pass into the hands of another family made him sorrowful and sad.

When many years later the sun of his fortune and good luck rose to the lights of auspiciousness, the coming of a daughter of excellent fortune named Areti [= Aretousa], brought forth by his wife Aretimi [= Artemi], into the cradle of existence spread and diffused another light of glory in the capital of his realm.

Their illustrious sovereign having attained such a felicity, the whole of the notables and the common people, as an expression of their gratitude and praise and as a sign of their happiness and joy, performed illuminations by the lighting of candles of pride and joy in all ports and towns, that should amaze the eyes of the spectators [...]

One person who shared this honour and felicity, Pezostris [= Pezostratos], considered as grand vizier and absolute deputy due to the favours and the courteous treatment by which he was honoured by the king, had an exceptional off-spring, Aretos [= Erotokritos] by name, ten years old, unique in his intelligence and acuteness of understanding and unequalled in his delicacy and charm. Since this boy loved knowledge and learning and since he always wished to associate with the greatest scholars and

learned men, he used to live together with them and to strive day and night towards the acquisition of human perfection.

However, his cruel destiny and resentful fate, by inspiring in him with some unexpected thoughts and instilling him a passionate desire for the beloved's lovelock, made him suffer from many catastrophes, and subjected his reason and consciousness, the absolute ruler of world and existence, to a Hülägü¹ called 'love' and brought the residence of his heart which was adorned by the jewels of knowledge, into disorder. Since he began inwardly and outwardly to be exalted by the fire of passion and his heart to be full of wounds and cracks from the dagger of pain and love, his tears flowed and not a single moment could he keep quiet without watching the beauty, and not even half a minute could he endure the pain caused by the wound of separation without wailing.

1. The Mongol ruler and conqueror of Baghdad is considered as a symbol of cruelty in Islamic tradition.

A suspected source of Scylitzes' *Synopsis Historion*: the great Catacalon Cecaumenus

JONATHAN SHEPARD

*'Catacalon Cecaumenus' is no longer a well-known name. In 1924 he was the subject of a study by N. Bănescu, and some years later Georgina Buckler proposed that he was the author of the so-called *Strategicon*, whose author's surname was Cecaumenus.¹ But the latter view no longer enjoys much support from scholars², and less attention has been paid recently to Catacalon. A symptom of his new-found obscurity is the fact that in the index of the 1973 edition of John Scylitzes' *Synopsis Historion* he is cut into two persons, both called Catacalon Cecaumenus. One of these persons is represented as being slain at the battle of Diacene in 1049, while the other figures exclusively during the reign of Michael VI.³ In fact, the index errs. The two sets of references denote one and the same man. But the error

1. N. Bănescu, 'Un duc byzantin du XI siècle: Katakalon Kékauménos', *Académie roumaine, Bulletin de la section historique* 11 (1924) 1-12. A résumé of Catacalon's career, drawn from Scylitzes-Cedrenus, is provided by R. Guiland, 'Etudes sur l'histoire administrative de l'empire byzantin: le curopalate', *Byzantina* 2 (1970) 202-03. G. Buckler's theories are to be found in 'The authorship of the *Strategicon* of Cecaumenus', *BZ* 36 (1936) esp. 9-10, 15-20; *eadem*, 'Can Cecaumenus be the author of the *Strategicon*?', *B* 13 (1938) 139-41.

2. G.G. Litavrin, *Sovety i rasskazy Kekavmena* (Moscow 1972) 36-9, 50, n. 1198 on p. 600; G. Cankova-Petkova, 'De nouveau sur Kékauménos', *Bulgarian Historical Review* 1973, pt. 3, 62, n. 8 (bibliography), 75.

3. John Scylitzes, *Synopsis Historion*, ed. H. Thurn (Berlin-New York 1973) 524. Henceforth this edition will be designated as 'Scyl.'. Important progress towards the lifting of Catacalon's obscurity was made by A.P. Kazhdan in his review of Thurn's edition of Scylitzes in *Istoriko-Filologicheskii Zhurnal* (Erevan 1975) no.1, 207-8. Kazhdan reached conclusions not far-removed from my own about Catacalon's role as a source. See also K.N. Yuzbashyan, 'Skylitza o zakhvate Aniyskogo tsarstva v 1045g.', *VV* 40 (1979) 76-8, 87 and n. 77.

is fruitful, in that it draws our attention to Scylitzes' description of the wounds suffered by Catacalon at Diacene.

We are given what must be the most detailed account of any person's wounds in Scylitzes' work. Catacalon's skull was cut from the crown to the eyebrows after his helmet had fallen off. Another wound ran from his throat to his mouth, and he suffered from loss of blood. Catacalon was lying among the corpses when a Pecheneg named Goulinos came upon him and 'having turned him over onto his back, he recognized him by his face. He took him up while still breathing, put him on a horse . . . and brought him to his tent'.⁴ Cecaumenus recovered there, and presumably was eventually released and allowed to return to Constantinople. Thus Scylitzes is very well-informed about Cecaumenus' fortunes at Diacene.⁵ But this is not the only such occasion. For he names or refers to Cecaumenus on altogether twenty-five pages of Thurn's edition. He features on eight more pages than does

4. Scyl. 469. A.G.C. Savvides argues that this casualty of the Pechenegs should be distinguished from the homonymous general: 'The Byzantine family of Kekaumenos (Cecaumenus) (late 10th-early 12th centuries)', *Diptycha* 4 (1986) 23, 25-6; cf. *idem* 'The Armeno-Byzantine family of Cecaumenus: addenda et corrigenda', *Journal of Oriental and African Studies* 2 (1990) 225. However, his case rests on a faulty dating of the battle of Kaputru — to 1049. In fact, this battle was fought in September 1048 and there is no reason why the Cecaumenus who was a veteran of Kaputru should not have been in the Balkans in the following year. Moreover, the casualty at Diacene is said by Scylitzes (467, 1.5) to have been appointed by the emperor *stratelates tes Anatoles*, a command quite compatible with what is known of the position of Catacalon Cecaumenus in 1048. He was then *Doux* of Ani and Iberia: Scyl. 448, 11.54-5; cf. K.N. Yuzbashyan, *Armianskie gosudarstva epokhi Bagratidov i Vizantiya IX-XIvv.* (Moscow 1988) 186, 214 (table), 220.

5. Cecaumenus' protracted convalescence with Goulinos may well prove to have been the ultimate source of all of the extensive account in Scylitzes of the Pechenegs' mutiny and insurrection in the Balkans: Scyl. 460-1, 465-6. For Goulinos (or Koulinos) was a son of the chieftain Kegen and had accompanied his father to Constantinople for consultations with the emperor during the earlier stages of the insurrection (Scyl. 465). He was thus well-placed to tell the captive Cecaumenus about the origins of the dispute between his father and Tyrach and about the subsequent Pecheneg invasion of the Balkans (Scyl. 465-9). In support of this supposition is the markedly sympathetic tone towards Kegen, a man 'of outstanding courage and formidable in war' (Scyl. 455, 11.49-50). The fortunes of Kegen receive detailed coverage, for example, the attempt by fellow-Pechenegs to assassinate him 'with three swords', from which he escaped with non-fatal injuries: Scyl. 465, 11.39-40.

George Maniaces, while even Emperor Michael IV only just beats him with 29 pages. It might be argued that such prominence is an accurate reflection of Catacalon's importance. But that is not always so. Scylitzes devotes a disproportionate space to Catacalon's defence of Messina, in comparison with the other information which he provides about George Maniaces' Sicilian expedition. And an account of Cecaumenus' operations in Bulgaria is tacked somewhat awkwardly on to Scylitzes' narrative of the Russo-Byzantine war of 1043.

Amidst such extensive coverage of Cecaumenus' career, one might expect to learn about its good and its bad aspects. But in fact there is not one word of criticism against him. Always, his courage and expertise are stressed. Sometimes, the course of events is distorted in order to conceal his failures. For example, the battle of Kaputru, fought against the Turks in September 1048, is represented as having been indecisive. In fact, all other sources indicate that it was a defeat for the Byzantines.⁶ Elsewhere, it is admitted that Catacalon was involved in defeats, but it is always stressed that these would not have occurred had Catacalon's counsel prevailed. Thus in 1049 he urged his commander-in-chief to attack the Pechenegs immediately at Diacene, before they could all assemble.⁷ But the commander waited, allowing all the Pechenegs to gather, and the result was a Byzantine disaster. This is not the only occasion when we are told of Cecaumenus' plans, abortive or realised. For example, we are told in great detail how he gradually and secretly won over soldiers in the region of Coloneia in preparation for the revolt against Michael VI, while constantly fearing arrest by soldiers still loyal to the emperor.⁸ And Scylitzes' account of the preliminaries to that revolt differs from Michael Psellus' in one interesting, and neglected, respect. Both writers indicate that Michael held the customary Easter-time

6. Scyl. 452-3. See my 'Scylitzes on Armenia in the 1040s', *Revue des études arméniennes* 11 (1975-6) 276-9.

7. Scyl. 468.

8. Scyl. 490-1.

reception for his senior army commanders in 1057, and from both it is apparent that the reception went badly, with the commanders leaving it in a discontented frame of mind. Psellus' account is straightforward. The commanders are said to have gone to the emperor in the hope of honours. But he insulted them all, and especially Isaac Comnenus and 'Cecaumenus from Coloneia'. He accused the latter of incompetence and of having almost lost Antioch for the empire. Cecaumenus is said to have been stunned by this, having expected to receive great honours.⁹ Scylitzes' account is quite different at this point. He indicates that, far from insulting his generals, Michael VI praised them. And, according to Scylitzes, the emperor heaped special praise on Cecaumenus, because he owed his success 'not to his fathers or to anybody's patronage, but to his own good qualities'.¹⁰ Nonetheless, says Scylitzes, Michael refused to grant honours to Cecaumenus or to any other general, and thus 'he roused them all to anger against him'. Scylitzes' narrative already seems self-contradictory. One's doubts are reinforced by evidence which Scylitzes himself supplies, that Cecaumenus had been relieved of his command at Antioch immediately after Michael's accession in September 1056.¹¹ Given this fact, and given that he and the other generals were so discontented after their audience with Michael that, after another unsuccessful attempt to plead with him, they began to discuss rebellion, it is likely that Michael had initially insulted rather than praised them, and that Cecaumenus had been singled

9. Michael Psellus, *Chronographia*, ed. E. Renauld, II (Paris 1928) 84. Renauld's translation erroneously makes out Isaac Comnenus to be the special target of the emperor's invective. Psellus' concluding remarks to this passage clearly indicate that Isaac should have been, but was not, treated somewhat differently from the other commanders: *ibid.*, 84-5. The error also occurs in E.R.A. Sewter's translation: *Fourteen Byzantine Rulers* (Harmondsworth 1966) 276-7.

10. Scyl. 483, 11.15-16.

11. *ibid.*, 11.3-5. Catacalon's time as *Doux* of Antioch had not been lengthy: his predecessor, Romanus Sclerus, was still *en poste* in June or July 1054: V. Laurent, 'La chronologie des gouverneurs d'Antioche sous la seconde domination byzantine', *Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph* 38 (1962) fasc. 10, pp. 242-3; W. Seibt, *Die Skleroi. Eine prosopographisch-sigillographische Studie* (Vienna 1976) 79-80 and n. 293.

out for abuse, not praise. For he was to prove to be the most implacable opponent of Michael. In short, Psellus' eye-witness account of the encounter between Michael VI and his generals is more creditworthy than Scylitzes'. The latter covers up the indignities which Cecaumenus suffered and the particular personal reasons which impelled him to become Michael's enemy.¹²

As a final example of Scylitzes' bias in favour of Cecaumenus, one may consider his account of the early stages of the coup d'état. Scylitzes in effect gives an apologia for Cecaumenus' conduct. For when Cecaumenus returned home to Coloneia after the Easter-time reception, he was so slow to take action that a rumour reached Isaac Comnenus that he had gone over to the emperor's side. Scylitzes explains that Cecaumenus was himself suspicious that Isaac might have given up the plan to revolt, leaving him to suffer the emperor's wrath alone. 'And he pondered and investigated how he might provide for his own safety'.¹³ We are given Cecaumenus' point of view, followed by a very detailed account of how he tricked the nearby army units into joining him in the revolt.

Scylitzes shows himself to be very well-informed about Cecaumenus' activities, at least four times giving the time of day at which they occurred.¹⁴ Furthermore, they are always described sympathetically, and occasionally distortions in his favour can be demonstrated. I suggest that all this material stems from a source closely connected with Cecaumenus himself. What sort of source? It is not impossible that it was an autobiography overtly written by Cecaumenus, using the first person singular. He was certainly a literate man, capable of keeping up a corres-

12. Psellus' version of the affair — that Catacalon was abused — was preferred to Scylitzes' by Zonaras, *Epitome Historiarum*, ed. T. Büttner-Wobst, III (Bonn 1897) 654.

13. Scyl. 490, 11.9-10.

14. Scyl. 407, 1.32; 449, 1.72; 453, 1.93; 500, 1.87.

pondence with Michael Psellus.¹⁵ But I have some doubts as to whether our hypothetical source, which will be termed 'C' for short, was written in the first person and thus whether it avowedly presented the viewpoint of one man alone. For at one point the negotiations between Emperor Michael and the victorious Isaac Comnenus, and also Cecaumenus' own dealings with the emperor's emissaries, are described. The latter, says Scylitzes, approached Cecaumenus secretly, one after the other, and urged him to continue to reject utterly the terms offered by Michael. 'And that they did this, and not anyone else, certain persons declared as much, men incapable of telling a lie'.¹⁶ This statement seems unlikely to have been composed by Scylitzes himself, writing perhaps a generation later.¹⁷ For why should he have needed to be so vehement and partisan? But if it was in our hypothetical source 'C', that source most probably referred to Catacalon in the third person. For if he were writing in the first person, he would presumably not have cited the testimony of 'men incapable of telling a lie'. At the same time, the obvious source for the successive secret visits by individual emissaries to Catacalon is Catacalon himself.

The problem of what actually happened during the negotiations between Michael VI and the rebel leaders is very complicated. In my view, the account attested by the 'men incapable of telling a lie' is incomplete to the point of distortion. For the degree of contact between Comnenus and Cecaumenus on the one hand and elements within the City on the other was considerably greater

15. Three letters from Psellus to Cecaumenus were edited by E. Kurtz and F. Drexler, *Michaeli Pselli Scripta Minora*, II (Milan 1941) epp. 30, 59, 141, pp. 43-6, 91-2, 168-9. As G.G. Litavrin states, these letters must date from after September 1057 and they could well have been written during the reign of Constantine X Ducas: 'Tri pis'ma Mikhaila Psella Katakalonu Kekavmenu', *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 7 (1969) 462, 464-5.

16. Scyl. 497, 11.13-15 and *apparatus criticus*. I here follow the reading of the 13th-century Cod. Vat. Gr. 161, which makes far better sense in the context. On this manuscript, see Thurn's *Einleitung*, xxiii, xlv.

17. John Scylitzes the Thracian appears to have held his highest office during the 1090s: P. Gautier, 'Le synode des Blachernes', *REB* 29 (1971) 241 and n. 3. See now, for W. Seibt's proposals concerning the composition date of the Chronicle, below n. 28.

than Scylitzes' account suggests.¹⁸ The effect of Scylitzes' account is to represent the uprising in the City as having been engineered by Michael Cerularius and as breaking out independently of Comnenus. This representation is significant, in that it is the sort of line which the Comnenan party might be expected to have taken after Isaac's accession, in the light of the deterioration in relations between him and the Patriarch. Further, Scylitzes' account of Cerularius' part in the uprising, though lengthy, is unsympathetic in tone: 'Everyone saw that the Patriarch was not merely an unabashed participant but actually the prime mover of the *apostasias*.' And he is depicted as urging the mob to sack the houses of those who remained loyal to the emperor.¹⁹ This representation resembles that concocted by Psellus in his indictment of Cerularius, which he prepared in the winter of 1058-9.²⁰ I suggest that the source of Scylitzes' account was

18. That there was some measure of collusion was strongly suspected by Michael Attaleiates, *Historia*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn 1853) 56. Attaleiates, writing after Psellus and after the composition of Scylitzes' source, and without apparent inside knowledge, offers an account of 1057 less obviously partisan or mendacious than either of the forementioned works. Even Scyl. (487, 11.18-21) yields the telling detail that the disgruntled generals had pledged one another their mutual support against Michael VI in St. Sophia, a venue strongly suggestive of Cerularius' complicity.

19. Scyl. 499, 11.65-6, 71-3. Scyl.'s account describes Cerularius' involvement in the uprising, naming his immediate associates and stating that the way he was forced to join in under duress 'was all a pretence, as events showed', *ibid.*, 498, 11.48-9. No mention is made of Constantine Ducas, who according to Attaleiates (ed. Bekker 56) was thick with the Patriarch and 'supported Comnenus to the hilt, cooperating with him and being aware of the initial plot'. Scyl.'s account implies that the Cerularius-engineered uprising was unnecessary. For the disloyal negotiators who secretly approached Cecaumenus are represented as also assuring Isaac Comnenus that 'all the urban masses are his ardent supporters, and that he has only to approach the City for them to overthrow the old fellow [Michael VI] with songs of victory': Scyl. 497, 11.15-17. See now on Cerularius' role in the coup M.D. Spadaro, 'La deposizione di Michele VI: un episodio di "Concordia discors" fra chiesa e militari?', *JÖB* 37 (1987) 153-71; F. Tinnefeld, 'Michael I Kerullarios, Patriarch von Konstantinopel (1043-58). Kritische Überlegungen zu einer Biographie', *JÖB* 39 (1989) 120-1; M. Angold, 'The Byzantine state on the eve of the battle of Manzikert', *BF* 16 (1991) 24.

20. Psellus' indictment also represents the uprising in the City as having been superfluous to Isaac's needs. Allegedly, Comnenus had come to terms with Michael VI and was approaching the City when Cerularius, who could not bear anyone becoming emperor without his assent, instigated an uprising: L. Bréhier, 'Un discours

composed at about the same time, during Comnenus' reign or conceivably just afterwards, and in either case reflecting the fully-evolved Comnenan position on Cerularius. In support of this suggestion is a passage in Scylitzes' description of Michael VI's abdication. It seems to refer to Michael as being still alive at the time of writing: 'I do not know if he will receive (*komieitai*) the heavenly kingdom as a compensation for the earthly one. But that will be (*genesetai*) as God wishes'.²¹ Such wording is not appropriate for someone already dead. But by September 1060 Michael was almost certainly dead. Therefore these words were probably written not later than 1060.²² I suggest that the hypothetical source was written as a laudatory biography of Cecaumenus, recording his achievements and, in particular, emphasising what invaluable services he had rendered for Isaac Comnenus. Much of the material, such as the way in which he recovered from his wounds at Diacene or his fears during the early stages of the rebellion, can only have been provided by the great man himself. So 'C' may have been written by Cecaumenus using the third person singular, thereby lending dignity — and a spurious air of objectivity — to the account of his achievements. Or it could have been written by someone else, using oral or written information supplied by Cecaumenus.²³ Neither alternative can be wholly ruled out, though my personal inclination is towards the former one.

Two objections may be raised against this thesis. First, how

inédit de Psellos. Accusation du patriarche Michel Cérulaire', *REG* 16 (1903) 38. Psellus stresses that the participants were not senators or leading officials but Cerularius' cronies and the mob, and he makes no mention of Constantine Ducas. Psellus, like Scylitzes' source, dismisses the view that Cerularius was intimidated into cooperating with the insurgents (*ibid.*, 38-9). He stresses that Cerularius stirred up the mob to sack the houses of prominent persons (*ibid.*, 41) and asserts, 'Let not the counsellors . . . say that he eagerly did everything on behalf of him who now reigns. Rather I think he stirred up everything against him', *ibid.*, 40-1.

21. Scyl. 500, 11.81-3.

22. See my 'Isaac Comnenus' coronation day', *BS* 38 (1977) 24.

23. See P. Alexander, 'Secular biography at Byzantium', *Speculum* 15 (1940), esp. 194-6.

can one be sure that all the references to Cecaumenus stem from a single source? For without doubt his role was important in the 1057 revolt. Therefore, he might have been mentioned by more than one source. So one should not trace all references to him on Scylitzes' part to 'C', and the passage composed *non post quam* 1060 need not belong to 'C'. In reply to this objection, one may accept that any full narrative of Isaac Comnenus' revolt would have mentioned Cecaumenus, who was Isaac's right-hand man. But it is doubtful whether Scylitzes drew on more than one major source for the reign of Michael VI. His coverage of the last years of Constantine IX's reign and of Theodora's is sparse. In contrast, his account of the five months between Easter 1057 and Emperor Michael's fall occupies 17 pages of Thurn's edition. Such imbalance suggests that Scylitzes had much more abundant information about the revolt than about the public affairs of the preceding period. He may well have used more than one source for Michael's reign, notably for the unsuccessful coup at its very beginning.²⁴ But since most of his material concerns the military revolt, is free from self-contradictions and is constantly hostile towards Michael VI, well-disposed if condescending towards Isaac and full of praise for Cecaumenus, there is no need to postulate more than one major source for the reign — 'C'. 'C' may well have been intended to support Cecaumenus' claim for rewards from Isaac Comnenus, or even for their resumption by Isaac or by his successor, Constantine X Ducas.²⁵

24. The account of the abortive coup of Theodosius Monomachus may well stem from a source other than 'C', perhaps the same source as that which recounted the reign of Theodora: Scyl. 479-482, 1.78. Between Theodosius' attempt at the beginning of September 1056 and the ill-starred reception of Easter 1057 are related only a few misdeeds of Michael VI (*ibid.*, 482, 1.81. – 483, 1.91) which may well stem from 'C', rather than from some separate scurrilous *psogos*.

25. After becoming a monk, Catacalon still recalled his past glory and made bitter recriminations when an (unnamed) emperor discontinued his stipend as *curopalates*. See Psellus, *Scripta Minora*, II, ep. 59, p. 92; ep. 141, pp. 168-9; G.G. Litavrin, 'Tri pis'ma', 463, 465, 467-8. There may well have been a connexion between Catacalon's withdrawal from the world, the loss of his stipend and the composition of a laudatory account of his life. Whether the composition began before or after the loss of stipend remains undetermined. In any case, the cloister would have afforded ample time for recollection, and also facilities for writing or dictating.

Another objection to our thesis might be that if, as is suggested, Scylitzes drew heavily on 'C' for the events of 1057, he would have mentioned the work by name in his list of sources at the beginning of his *Synopsis*. But, as A. P. Kazhdan has shown, Scylitzes does not appear to have relied on all the works listed in his preface. And conversely, he does not mention the two works on which he did draw heavily, Theophanes Continuatus and a lost history of the 10th-century Phocas family.²⁶ I suggest that one may add a lost laudatory biography — or autobiography masquerading as biography — to this category. Some extracts from it feature Cecaumenus as a comparatively junior officer, serving on Sicily and on the Danube frontier. These fit awkwardly into Scylitzes' main narrative and at least one of them is interpolated in the wrong context.²⁷ But Scylitzes uses 'C' *in extenso* for his account of campaigns against the *amir* of Dvin in 1046-47 and against the Seljuk Turks in Armenia in 1048. He also drew on it for his narrative of the battle of Diacene in the summer of 1049 and, probably, for his whole account of the Pecheneg incursions of the 1040s and early 1050s. Finally, he reproduced it extensively, and perhaps for some passages *verbatim*, for his blow-by-blow account of the revolt of the generals against Michael VI in 1057.²⁸

26. A.P. Kazhdan, 'Iz istorii vizantiyskoy khronografii Xv.: 2', *VV* 20 (1961) 109-110, 119-21.

27. Scyl. 419, 11.55-6. See now my 'Byzantium's last Sicilian expedition', *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici* n.s. 14-16 (XXIV-XXVI) (1977-79) 155-9; 'Why did the Russians attack Byzantium in 1043?', *BNJ* 22 (1977-84) 155, n. 1.

28. 'C' most probably came to an end with the triumphant entry of its hero into Constantinople and the coronation of Isaac (Scyl. 500, 11.88-94). Having relied chiefly on 'C' for the events of 1057, Scylitzes (if not his Continuator) had to resort to other sources — principally Attaleiates and, to a lesser extent, Psellus — for that part of his work known as 'Scylitzes Continuatus'. That Scylitzes himself was the compiler of this work now seems to me very possible, *contra* my position taken in *REB* 33 (1975) 217, n. 6. My ground for modification of this position lies in a passage of John Zonaras which seems to have escaped scholarly attention: *Epitome Historiarum*, ed. Büttner-Wobst, III, 672-3. He notes that divergent accounts are given by 'the historians' about the illness of Isaac Comnenus which prompted his abdication. He cites Psellus' version and then (673, 11.4-5) ὁ δὲ γὰρ Θράκησιος . . . ἰστόρησε that the emperor, while hunting near Neapolis, fell from his horse and lay foaming at

*This is the text of a communication given in the Language, Literature and Philology Section of the XV International Congress of Byzantine Studies (Athens, 5-11 September 1976), and submitted then for publication by the 'Organizers' for the Congress. After a wait of 15 years, and in the belief that the text has not yet been superseded, I present it unaltered save for a few bibliographical up-dates, notably those works mentioning Catacalon Cecaumenus.

*Faculty of History,
University of Cambridge*

the mouth. By 'the Thracesian' Zonaras must mean John Scylitzes. For this version of Isaac's mishap is to be found in 'Scylitzes Continuatus': *Ἡ Συνέχεια τῆς Χρονογραφίας τοῦ Ἰωάννου Σκυλίτση*, ed. E.T. Tsolakes (Thessalonica 1968) 108. (This passage is similar, though not wholly identical, to Attaleiates' *Historia*, ed. Bekker, 69; cf. Tsolakes, *Συνέχεια*, 65). Zonaras' identification, from his vantage-point in the twelfth century, of the author of 'Scylitzes Continuatus' with John Scylitzes the Thracesian cannot lightly be dismissed. See now W. Seibt, 'Ioannes Skylitzes. Zur Person des Chronisten', *JÖB* 25 (1976) 81. Seibt stresses the significance of the forementioned passage in Zonaras and proposes a composition date of the 1070s for the main text of Scylitzes' work, with the Continuation being written much later, at the turn of the eleventh and twelfth centuries: *ibid.* 84-5.

Byzantium in the Cairo Genizah

NICHOLAS DE LANGE

On the occasion of the Byzantine Symposium at Cambridge in March 1990, an exhibition of manuscripts of Byzantine interest recovered from the Cairo Genizah was mounted in the University Library.¹ Although these manuscripts have been in Cambridge for nearly a century, they are still not as well known as they deserve to be, and the exhibition provoked a good deal of interest among participants.² It therefore seemed useful to provide this more permanent record. I have taken the opportunity to add one or two items which, for various reasons, could not be exhibited. I have also introduced references to publications in English or other western languages; it should be remembered, however, that there is a growing quantity of Genizah publication now in Hebrew. It should also be borne in mind that, although most of the Genizah manuscripts are in Cambridge, other smaller collections are to be found in many other libraries, notably (so far as Byzantine material is concerned) in St Petersburg, New York and Oxford.

* * * * *

It was in 1986 that Solomon Schechter, Reader in Rabbinic and Talmudic Literature at Cambridge, travelled to Cairo to investigate the discovery of a cache of manuscripts in the roof of an ancient synagogue. He succeeded in bringing back to Cambridge most of the contents of the Genizah (the technical term for such deposits) from the Ben Ezra synagogue in Fostat (Old Cairo).

1. I must express my gratitude to Dr. Jonathan Shepard for his enthusiasm and support, and also to the Revd. N.J. Hancock, Dr. S.C. Reif, and Dr. G. Khan of the library staff for their considerable practical assistance.

2. See the review by Dion C. Smythe in *Bulletin of Judaean-Greek Studies* 6 (Summer 1990) 23-25.

They were in a lamentable condition, but they filled dozens of packing cases, and they were to secure immortality for the names of Schechter and his patron Charles Taylor, Master of St Johns College, a mathematician with a competent amateur knowledge of rabbinics.³

It very soon became clear that this was by far the most important discovery of manuscripts ever to have been made in the area of Jewish history and literature. The Genizah has dominated research in these areas ever since. But it has remained insufficiently appreciated that the Cairo Genizah is also a valuable resource in other fields to. It is potentially very rewarding for students of Byzantium: unfortunately most of the material of Byzantine interest remains unpublished (or has been published only in Hebrew). There is an urgent need for a thorough investigation of the whole Genizah by competent Byzantinologists.

The manuscripts listed below are written in various languages: Hebrew, Arabic, Aramaic, Greek, or any two or more of these combined. With the exception of a couple of Christian fragments and one or two very old Jewish ones, however, they are written in the Hebrew alphabet, which was the virtually universal medium of writing among Jews in the Middle Ages. Most of them date from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, although a few are earlier or later.⁴

Biblical and Liturgical Fragments

Among the manuscripts preserved in the Genizah are a few, unfortunately very fragmentary, which shed new light on the

3. On the background to the discovery of the Genizah see N. Bentwich, *Solomon Schechter* (Cambridge 1938) 126-163. For an account of its contents, an assessment of its importance, and the history of research, see S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society: the Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Genizah*, Vol. 1 (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London 1967) 1-28.

4. There is no complete catalogue of the Cambridge Genizah material as yet. In the meantime, so far as published items are concerned, the most useful reference work is: S.C. Reif et al. (ed), *Published Material from the Cambridge Genizah Collections: A Bibliography 1896-1980* (Cambridge 1988). See the comments and additional notes by N. de Lange, 'Greek and Byzantine fragments in the Cairo Genizah', *Bulletin of Judaeo-Greek Studies* 5 (Winter 1989), 13-17.

religious life of Greek-speaking Jews and on their reading and study of the Bible. The Christian fragments (nos. 9 and 10) survived by accident: probably they were acquired with a view to eventual re-use.

1. Palimpsest (re-used parchment). The original writing is from a Greek Bible, dating perhaps from as early as the 5th or 6th century. The later writing on top is from a copy of the Palestinian Talmud.⁵ [T-S 16.320]

2. Another palimpsest. The Greek text is from the Bible translation of Aquila, which survives only in fragments (this is one of the most extensive of them). Believed to have been commissioned for Jewish use in the 2nd century, this version remained popular among Byzantine Jews for well over a thousand years. Later writing: hymn by the Hebrew poet Yannai, who wrote in Byzantine Palestine in the 6th century.⁶ [T-S 20.50]

3. Fragment of an otherwise unknown Greek translation of Ecclesiastes, written in Hebrew letters. Probably from a prayer book. c. 11th century.⁷ [T-S Misc.28.74]

4. Hebrew Biblical fragment [Judges 8.12-9.54] with a reader's gloss in Greek, written in a modified uncial script only found in Jewish fragments from the Genizah. [T-S NS 250.7]

5. Fragment of a biblical glossary. Difficult words from the Hebrew Bible are accompanied by their Greek translation (in Hebrew letters), based on the version of Aquila.⁸ [T-S NS 309.9]

5. On Genizah palimpsests see M. Sokoloff and J. Yahalom, 'Christian Palimpsests from the Cairo Genizah', *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 8 (1978), 109-132. There are other Greek biblical palimpsests in the Genizah: see N.R.M. de Lange, 'Two Genizah Fragments in Hebrew and Greek', in J.A. Emerton, S.C. Reif (ed), *Interpreting the Hebrew Bible. Essays in Honour of E.I.J. Rosenthal* (Cambridge 1982) 61.

6. Published by F.C. Burkitt, *Fragments of the Books of Kings according to the translation of Aquila* (Cambridge 1897) 5-32.

7. Published in de Lange, 'Two Genizah Fragments', 64-75.

8. Published by N. de Lange, 'Some new fragments of Aquila on Malachi and Job?', *Vetus Testamentum* 30 (1980) 291-294.

6. Fragment of a biblical commentary written in Hebrew with Greek glosses in Hebrew characters. Additional interlinear Greek glosses have been added in the same type of uncial hand as is seen in no.4. [Westminster College, Talmudica I.110]

7. Two fragments from a commentary on the Prophets, written on a rotulus (a scroll written vertically in a single column). The commentary is in Hebrew, but frequently employs Greek words, many of which seem to be taken from Aquila and other current Bible versions. [T-S K27.46-47]

8. Fragment of a *Haggadah* (prayer book for Passover). The text is in Hebrew and Aramaic, the rubrics in Greek. 11th-12th century. [T-S NS 122.126]

9, 10. Two Christian liturgical fragments.

[T-S K24.27, 16.321]

The Jews in the Byzantine Empire

Jews had lived in the area of the Byzantine Empire since ancient times. Progressively excluded from participating in the government and public life of the State and in its majority culture, they nevertheless managed to survive physically and culturally, and so successfully that at times Jewish immigrants from other parts of the world were attracted to Byzantium, as we can see from these contemporary documents.

Apart from one or two large communities, such as those in Constantinople, Salonica and Thebes, there were Jewish colonies scattered throughout the towns of the Empire, and apparently some Jews also lived as farmers in rural communities. Their occupations were very varied: here we meet doctors, scholars, merchants, but also silk-dyers and even a pancake-maker. They obviously commanded a number of languages: Greek was their main spoken language, though some also knew Arabic; the usual written language was Hebrew, but Aramaic was also used, particularly in prayers and legal documents. Their religion was mainly Rabbinic Judaism, with some distinctive local customs; in the larger centres there were also important centres of Karaites,

who rejected the authority of the Talmud and relied instead on the Bible and on the judgment of the individual. Sometimes open conflict broke out between Rabbanites and Karaites. Some smaller local sects also existed.

11. Hebrew letter, soliciting charitable donations to the bearer, Jacob b. Hanukkah; probably early 10th c.⁹ [T-S 12.122]

12. *Ketubba* (marriage deed), dated 9 March 1022, at Mastaura near the River Maeander. The document is drawn up in a mixture of Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek, according to a basic formula which seems to be specifically Byzantine, although no other examples are known. (There are analogies with a recently-published marriage deed from Antinoopolis in Egypt, written in the same mixture of languages and dated 417.).¹⁰ [T-S 16.374]

13. Hebrew/Aramaic letter to Seleucia from Egypt, 10th-11th century. A certain Saad writes to his son-in-law Aaron, whose address is 'in the house of Shabbetai near the synagogue': 'I and my family are well, and there is nothing in my heart to grieve me except (your absence) from me, but I must inform you that your wife is very sad, and your children to: it is twenty-three year now since you abandoned them and you do not long to see them. Why should you do this to your wife and children?' (lines 15-20). [T-S 12.179]

14. Letter, 11th century, recording a serious dispute between Rabbanites and Karaites. The place is uncertain: the presence of merchants from Russia has been thought to suggest Salonica;

9. Published in N. Golb, O. Pritsak, *Khazarian Hebrew Documents of the Tenth Century* (Ithaca NY 1982) 11-15. According to Golb, the letter was written on behalf of the Jewish community of Kiev (spelt *qıyyov* in line 8). If this reading is correct, this is not only the earliest reference to a Jewish community in Kiev, but also the earliest original document naming the city. The last word, written by brush not pen, is in Turkish runes, and has been read as *huqurum*: 'I have read (it)'.

10. English translation in J. Starr, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire (641-1204)* (Athens 1939) 187-189. The document is studied by T. Reinach, 'Un Contrat de mariage du temps de Basile le Bulgaroctone', in *Mélanges offerts à G. Schlumberger* (Paris 1924) 118-132. For the Antinoopolis document, see C. Sirat et al., *La Ketouba de Cologne* (Opladen 1986).

others, however, argue for Constantinople, because it was the main centre of the Byzantine Karaites.¹¹ [T-S 20.45]

15. Business letter, c.11th century: A merchant (Jacob) writes to his business partner (Shabbetai) about the sale of some hides. The letter is in Hebrew mixed with Greek. [T-S 16.289]

16. Letter from the community of Alexandria to Marathia concerning ransom of captives. Probably 11th century.¹² [T-S 16.251]

Correspondence of Tobias Ben Moses (Nos. 17-19)

Tobias son of Moses was one of the leading figures in the history of Karaism in the mid-11th century. A Greek-speaker (although it is interesting to note that he writes to his daughter in Arabic), he spent part of his life in Jerusalem, where there was an important circle of Karaite scholars; he also lived for a time in Egypt. He is known as an author, and also as a translator and copyist. Several texts written by him are preserved in the Genizah, both religious writings and copies of personal letters. The latter cast a fascinating new light on his life and times. It seems that he had a daughter by a Byzantine Christian woman. In the first letter shown here, he writes to the daughter from Jerusalem, where he is serving as administrator of state-owned lands. He writes with tenderness and concern for his daughter, and bitterness towards her mother. The second letter, written c.1048, sees Tobias back in Jerusalem and in great distress. He is intending once again to return home, and prays that God may restore him 'to my daughter and my ancestral heritage . . . moreover the anguish of my only daughter never leaves my heart'. The third letter, written some two years

11. Partial English translation in Starr, *The Jews*, 182-3.

12. See J. Mann, *The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine under the Fatimid Caliphs* (2 vols in 1, reprinted with a preface and reader's guide by S.D. Goitein, New York 1970) I.92f. Mann read the place name as 'Mastaura'; N. Golb pointed out, under the rubric 'Correspondence Received' in *Bulletin of Judaean-Greek Studies* 1 (Autumn, 1987) 7, that it actually reads 'Marathia'. Various other Genizah documents mention Byzantine captives ransomed or offered for ransom in Egypt: see Starr, *The Jews*, 186f. (from the 1020s) and 220f. (from the 1140s).

later, reveals a dramatic change in Tobias's circumstances. His wife has abandoned the Church and the Christian empire, returned to him and embraced Judaism. It would seem that the daughter has died in the meantime.¹³

17. Arabic letter from Tobias b. Moses to his daughter, written in Jerusalem, probably Spring 1040.

‘. . . My daughter, I do not know who you are with, whether you are with Jews, who are your father's people, or with your mother's race, the Gentiles. But I tell you this: if they are prepared to sell you to me, my daughter, I shall buy you and rescue you from them; there is nothing else I can do. I am planning to leave after the Festival of Weeks for Rum [Byzantium], for my land and my family; so let me know first what your plans are and I shall see what to do about you. *Inshallah* [As God wills]!’ [lines 12-17] [Or. 1080 J21]

18. Hebrew letter from Tobias b. Moses to Perahia b. Muammal, 1048(?), mentioning his intention to return to Byzantium [line 32]. [T-S 12.347]

19. Part of a rhymed Hebrew letter from Tobias b. Moses, c. 1050 (another fragment is in Budapest). He mentions the hardships suffered by his wife when she decided to abandon Christianity and return to him. [T-S AS 153.82]

20. Letter concerning a Jew who married a Christian wife in Byzantium. Filled with remorse, he emigrated with her (perhaps to the Land of Israel), returned to Judaism and apparently compelled his wife to convert as well. (It has been suggested that the Jew in question was Tobias b. Moses, but the letter is not in his handwriting, and the story, while similar to his, is not quite identical.) [T-S AS 152.360]

13. See Z. Ankori, ‘The Correspondence of Tobias ben Moses the Karaite’, in J.L. Blau et al. (edd.), *Essays on Jewish Life and Thought Presented in Honor of S.W. Baron* (New York 1959) 1-38; M. Gil, *A history of Palestine, 634-1099* (Cambridge 1992) 815-818, and more generally on the personality and work of Tobias ben Moses see Z. Ankori, *Karaites in Byzantium: The Formative Years, 970-1100* (New York-Jerusalem 1959) *passim*.

21. Letter from an Egyptian Jewish woman, Maliha, who writes from Byzantium to her brothers asking for one of them to come and fetch her home. She has been away for several years, and has a daughter named Zoë. [T-S 13J.11.4]

22. Arabic letter from Salonika, 1089/90. The writer is an Egyptian Jew who has settled in the Byzantine Empire because 'he despaired of the Muslim lands', at first in the east and then, after the Battle of Manzikert, in Salonika. Despite going blind, he is happy in Salonika: 'I am liked and respected by every God-fearer and every man of understanding and intelligence . . . And even though the community of Salonika are impressive people, not one of them can find fault with me in property law or capital cases or any other branch of the law' (lines 8-15). Consequently, he refuses his son's plea that he should return to Egypt. His wife and daughter, on the other hand, are eager to accept the invitation. Evidently it has been harder for the women to adapt to the very different life in Byzantium. [T-S Ar.53.37]

23. Arabic letter, c. 1130. The writer, Samuel b. Judah ha-Bavli (a Baghdadi living in Egypt), describes himself as having a passion for study. He has learned that there are permanent Jewish colleges in Byzantium, in Thebes and in Salonika, and has made up his mind to study there. [T-S 16.301]

24. Arabic/Hebrew letter from Seleucia to Egypt, dated 21 July 1137. The writer's name is unknown. He is a physician, and it has been suggested that he has served with the Fatimid navy which was defeated by the Venetians off the Palestinian coast near Jaffa in 1124; he has also been in Rhodes and Chios (both occupied by the Venetians during that expedition) and for a time also in Constantinople. He has settled and prospered in Seleucia, and apparently has a Greek wife, named Korasi. He writes during the eastern campaign of John Comnenus (he has heard a rumour that the city of Antioch has already fallen); he has opportunistically asked 'our commanders' to let him have any medical books they may get hold of in Aleppo or Damascus. The writer mentions eleven other Jews from Egypt who have settled in Byzantine towns, and urges his in-laws to emigrate too. This enthusiasm

vividly illustrates the prosperity and prestige enjoyed by the Byzantine Empire during the first half of the twelfth century.¹⁴
[T-S 13J21.17]

25. Part of a Hebrew letter, describing various manifestations of Messianic excitement. The first part deals with events in Sicily; there follows a section dealing with the Peloponnese, and including the only known reference to a Jewish community in Andravida in the Middle Ages. It has been suggested that the letter is to be dated to 1257, and that the messianic outburst is related to the successes of the Mongols in the east.¹⁵ [T-S Misc.35.26]

Byzantine Jews in Egypt

We have seen signs of substantial immigration of Egyptian Jews to the Byzantine Empire. But the traffic was by no means one-way, and a number of Genizah documents refer to Byzantine Jews living in Egypt. No doubt it is largely to such immigrants that we owe the presence of so much Byzantine material in the Cairo Genizah. The Byzantine Jews maintained their Greek language and culture for a while, but gradually they yielded to the dominant Arabic/Hebrew based culture.

26. Letter mentioning a Byzantine silk dyer who has had to flee to Egypt after being accused of spoiling a precious fabric.
[Or.1081 J9]

27. Letter mentioning a Byzantine Jew who has married an Egyptian wife.
[T-S Ar.7.9]

28. Letter mentioning a Byzantine woman who has been deserted by her husband.
[T-S 12.575]

29. Hebrew letter addressed to a woman. The use of odd Greek words (e.g. 'Jacob *ton chimevton* [the enameller]' in the penultimate line) shows that both writer and addressee are of Byzantine

14. Translation and discussion by S.D. Goitein, 'A Letter from Seleucia (Cilicia) Dated 21 July 1137', *Speculum* 39 (1964) 298-303.

15. See S. Bowman, 'Messianic Expectations in the Peloponnesos', *Hebrew Union College Annual* 52 (1981) 195-202. Partial translation in S. Bowman, *The Jews of Byzantium, 1204-1453* (Alabama 1985) 224-227.

origin. The writer also mentions a woman named Evdokia, evidently another Byzantine, who has died [line 13].

[T-S 8J19.33]

30. Letter from a woman to her son. The mother has a Greek name (Archontou), and her husband is called Elia, a common name among Byzantine Jews; but her son, with his Arabic name (Fudail), seems to be on the way to assimilation. The mother writes good Hebrew, but it shows occasional signs of Greek influence, and she used some Greek words. [Or.1080 J1]

31. Hebrew letter, 1140s. The writer, Elia b. Caleb b. Leo, evidently a Byzantine Jew living in Egypt, is writing to the Nagid Samuel in Fostat. He deplores the contempt for learning shown by the Jews of Benhe. It is interesting to speculate whether the general standard of culture among Jews in Byzantium was higher than that in Egypt at this time: cf. the letter from Samuel b. Judah ha-Bavli in this exhibition (no. 23), who decided to leave Egypt for Byzantium because of the better colleges there.¹⁶

[T-S 10J9.14]

Byzantium in Jewish Life

Besides documents directly concerned with Byzantium and with Byzantine Jews, there are many documents in the Genizah that refer to Byzantium indirectly. These also supply at times valuable historical information. We see that Byzantium was ever-present as a geographical reality and an economic and military power. No clear attitude emerges: the curse pronounced on the empire by Israel ben Nathan (no. 36) is an isolated outburst which is to be ascribed to his own unfortunate experience.

Correspondence of Hasdai Ibn Shaprut (Nos. 32-33)

The physician Hasdai son of Isaac Ibn Shaprut served the Andalusian caliph Abderrahman III (912-961) and his successor Hakam (961-976), and was involved in various diplomatic missions. Being one of the most influential Jews of his day, he

16. Partial English translation in Starr, *The Jews*, 220.

was also concerned with the well-being of Jewish communities in other countries. Apparently he was particularly interested in the independent Jewish kingdom of Khazaria, and copies exist of what purports to be a correspondence between Hasdai and the king of the Khazars, Joseph. The Genizah texts displayed here come from what seems to have been an 'epistolary', a collection of his diplomatic letters, and, as can be seen, they have important Byzantine connections. One is actually addressed to a Byzantine empress, Helena the wife of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, and concerns a persecution of the Byzantine Jews initiated under emperor Romanus Lecapenus. This persecution is also mentioned in another of these letters, sent to Hasdai by an unknown Khazar writer, who describes how king Joseph retaliated for the persecution by killing many Christians in Khazaria. Hasdai, however, in writing to Helena stresses the protection accorded to the Christians of Andalusia by the Moslem caliph Abderrahman. In the same letter he refers to Khazaria: it seems that he wants to send messengers there to obtain more information about this Jewish kingdom which was so little known in the West.

The third letter shown here is addressed to a 'great monarch', perhaps indeed to Romanus Lecapenus himself, although this cannot be proved.

32. Hebrew copy of a letter from a Khazar to Hasdai Ibn Shaprut of Cordova (10th century). The beginning and end of the letter are lost. The remaining portions describe the arrival of the first Jews in Khazaria and the proselytization of Khazaria, and subsequent military exploits of the Khazars, including a war against the Byzantines and the Rus'. The fragment ends with a geographical description of Khazaria.¹⁷ [T-S Misc.35.38]

33. Hebrew copies of two letters from Hasdai Ibn Shaprut.

The first is addressed to the Byzantine Empress Helena (10th century). Hasdai makes two requests of the Empress, one concerning persecutions of the Jews in Byzantium, the other concerning the Khazars.

17. Translation and detailed study in Golb and Pritsak, *Khazarian Hebrew Documents*, 73-156.

The second letter is addressed to a 'great monarch' (the name of the addressee is lost).¹⁸ [T-S J2.71]

34. Arabic letter from Palermo in Sicily to Damsis in Egypt, c.1025. The writer, Joseph b. Samuel ha-Dani, has been shipwrecked off the coast of Libya. He is uncertain if he will be able to return, because the town is threatened by enemy attack. This has been identified with the Byzantine invasion of 1025-6. The writer's decision to settle in Sicily despite the Byzantine menace suggests that the inhabitants of the Sicilian capital were confident that the Byzantine attack would be repulsed.

[T-S Or.1080 J22]

35. Fragment of an Arabic letter from Amalfi, Italy, to al-Mahdiyya, Tunisia, mid-11th century. The writer is a merchant from Alexandria; on the way to Amalfi his ship was attacked (by pirates?), and had to flee to Constantinople and later to Crete.

[T-S 8Ja.1.5]

Correspondence of Nehorai ben Nissim (Nos. 36-40)

Among the rich deposits of documents in the Genizah we often find the same individuals recurring again and again, and it is possible in some cases to build up a detailed picture of a person's private life and business affairs. One such person is Nehorai (or Nahrai) son of Nissim, who lived in Fostat in the middle of the 11th century. Much of his correspondence survives. He was a prominent member of a close circle of 'western' (maghribi) merchants. Of the five letters displayed here, three are written to him from Jerusalem by Israel ben Nathan, his first cousin. It would seem that Israel (who despite belonging to a wealthy family was ill-fated and impoverished) had lived for a while in Byzantium and married a Greek wife. The marriage was cut short by divorce, and Israel abandoned Byzantium in dramatic but enigmatic circumstances to settle in Jerusalem. We learn that he was imprisoned for a while in Constantinople, and that he was

18. Discussion in Golb and Pritsak, 79-86.

obliged to sell his own clothes in Tyre to survive. Another letter informs us in passing about a number of Byzantine Jews who had arrived in the Holy Land; one of them, who was something of a scholar, had settled in Jerusalem.

Another correspondent, Avon ben Sedaka, writes to Nehorai about some Byzantine quarter-dinars. This is one of a series of letters from Avon on the same subject. It would seem that these Byzantine coins from Sicily caused serious problems: nobody wanted them and it was difficult to exchange them at a reasonable rate.

Finally, a letter from Nehorai to another maghribi, 'Ayyash ben Sedaka, a resident of Alexandria who is staying in Jerusalem, mentions some ships that have been captured by the Byzantines, a reminder of the hazardous nature of all trade, but also of a certain negative image of Byzantium among these North African merchants.

36. Letter from Israel b. Nathan in Jerusalem to Nehorai b. Nissim in Fostat, dated 22 September, 1051.

' . . . On the Eve of Tabernacles, after I left the land of Rum — may the God of Israel render it desolate! — God took pity on me and delivered me after many misfortunes, which two whole loads of paper would not suffice to recount to you in detail . . . So God released me from prison in Constantinople . . . ' (lines 2-7).

[T-S 13J.16.4]

37. Letter from Israel b. Nathan in Jerusalem to Nehorai b. Nissim in Fostat, dated 11 January 1052, mentioning Israel's arrival from Byzantium.

[T-S 13J.16.7]

38. Letter from Israel b. Nathan in Jerusalem to Nehorai b. Nissim in Fostat, dated 29 November 1061, mentioning several Byzantine Jews who have appeared in Jerusalem.

[Or.1080 J78]

39. Letter from Avon b. Sedaka in Jerusalem to Nehorai b. Nissim in Fostat, dated 31 March 1059. Among other requests, the writer asks Nehorai to 'send me the Roman (i.e. Byzantine) quarter(-dinar)s with any suitable person you may choose, at a time you think fitting . . . '

[T-S 12.279]

40. Fragment of an Arabic letter, from Nehorai b. Nissim in Fostat to 'Ayyash b. Sedaka the Maghribi in Jerusalem, c.1067.
[T-S 8J.27.19]

*Faculty of Divinity,
University of Cambridge*

Divine Diplomacy in the late Eleventh Century

ROSEMARY MORRIS

The subject of the *XXIV Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies* was *Byzantine Diplomacy* and many of the papers dealt with high-level contacts between Byzantium and other medieval states. But although Byzantines often made use of churchmen and monks as ambassadors and although there was usually a religious dimension to Byzantine diplomacy, it is worth noting that powerful monastic figures and influential houses often engaged in diplomacy on their own account. The theatre of operations was often more geographically limited, but this kind of monastic diplomacy had much in common with its lay counterpart. In both cases, it was Constantinople and the imperial court which was the centre of 'diplomatic activity' and, in both cases, negotiations were often delicate and long-protracted. If favours were sought, if confirmations of privileges were required, if difficulties with zealous local officials were to be overcome, then representations needed to be made at the highest level. This often meant a monastic delegation visiting Constantinople and operating in very similar ways to lay missions. A case in point is the process by which St Christodoulos of Patmos obtained the lands which were to form the basis of the properties of the Monastery of St John. Christodoulos' account itself employs the language of diplomacy. In his *Hypotyposis*, composed in May, 1091, he wrote:

And after the most blessed Empress, the Emperor's mother, had acted as a negotiator (μεσιτευσάσης) and ambassador (πρεσβευσάσης) on our behalf, the ruling Emperor fulfilled my request.¹

This article was first delivered as a Communication at the *XXIV Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies*, Cambridge, 1990. By tradition, communications are often speculative; I hope at a later date to return to some of the problems outlined here.

1. F. Miklosich and J. Müller, *Acta et Diplomata Graeca Medii Aevi Sacra et Profana*, 6 vols (Vienna 1860-90) VI, 65 (henceforward MM).

It is the purpose of this paper to examine some of the ways and means by which a monastic leader could reach the presence of the Emperor or his immediate representative, put his case and, in this particular instance, gain his objectives. In general, monastic aims were not far to seek: the renewing of monastic privileges or the granting of new ones; imperial intervention against those who troubled monastic serenity (anyone from imperial relatives in the case of the Komnenoi, to tax officials — often only trying to do their jobs efficiently — right down to humble peasants who happened to be in the wrong place at the wrong time); imperial backing in some other cause or dispute. In other words, the goal was imperial action and it was often achieved, though monastic archives (even those few that survive) do not, of course, usually contain any record of failed attempts.

'Getting the Emperor to do something' was the object of a great deal of the activity undertaken by what might well be described as 'the great and the good' in Byzantine society. Recent articles, by Margaret Mullett on the operation of friendship and by Ruth Macrides on the Byzantine godfather, have demonstrated the sorts of ties that bound Byzantines to undertake tasks for each other, to do each other favours and to form solidarities which were not, initially, founded on blood and kin.² Did monks act in the same sort of way? Was monastic diplomacy markedly different from the methods, stratagems and ruses employed by the laity? Let us look more closely at the case of St Christodoulos.³

A first monastic advantage, when it came to gaining the interest or notice of the Emperor, was that this might already have been shown by his predecessors to the institution concerned. Even if

2. M.E. Mullett, 'Byzantium: a Friendly Society?', *Past and Present* 118 (1988) 3-24; R. Macrides, 'The Byzantine Godfather', *BMGS* 11 (1987) 139-62.

3. The best survey of St Christodoulos' life remains E. Vranoussi, *Ta hagiologika keimena tou hosiou Christodoulou* (Athens 1966). The archives of the Monastery of St John the Theologian on Patmos are in the process of edition and publication. See, so far, E. Vranoussi, *Byzantina Engrapha tes Mones Patmou*, I, *Autokratorika* (Athens 1960); M. Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, *Byzantina Engrapha tes Mones Patmou*, II, *Demosion Leitourgion* (Athens 1980) (henceforward *BEMP*).

holy men came and went, monasteries remained. This principle can be illustrated by Christodoulos' first official contact with the Emperor Alexios Komnenos. In March of 1085, Alexios confirmed the previous chrysobull of Nikephoros Botaneiates granting Christodoulos lands on Kos. The document speaks of 'the most worthy monk' Christodoulos, but this is mere convention and certainly does not imply that the Emperor had met him.⁴ Such 'reconfirmations' of chrysobulls were common; the archives of the Athonite monasteries are full of them and examples could be cited for the tenth and eleventh centuries from the monastic archives of Latros, the Nea Mone on Chios as well as Athos.⁵ The welfare of the monasteries was a continuing pre-occupation for Emperors who prided themselves on their impeccable orthodoxy, as Alexios certainly did. But how were these re-confirmations arranged? It is more than likely that deputations of monks went to Constantinople to ask for them, but who did they ask first? A high-up official in the bureau dealing with the drawing up and authentication of documents, perhaps, who could bring the matter more expeditiously to the ear of the Emperor? A possible candidate will be suggested in a moment.

The next contact between Christodoulos and the imperial court that we know of was in May-June 1087 and, as a consequence of his stay, he was granted property on the islands of Leipsos and Leros. This is a prime example of the maxim as important to Byzantine monks as to the laity: 'if possible, go to Constantinople and gain access to the Emperor' (or, in this case, the Empress-Mother, Anna Dalassena).⁶ But going to Constantinople was one thing; remaining there long enough to ensure a happy outcome was quite another. Where did Chris-

4. *BEMP*, I, no. 4 (March, 1085).

5. Examples of imperial 'reconfirmations' are *Actes de Lavra*, edd. P. Lemerle, A. Guillou, N. Svoronos, D. Papachryssanthou, I, no. 7 (978), which although issued by Basil II, recalls the generosity of John Tzimiskes. See *JGR*, *Appendix*, Doc. XX (1072), for the confirmation by Michael VII Doukas of his overthrown predecessor Romanos IV Diogenes' chrysobull for the Nea Mone on Chios.

6. *BEMP*, no. 5 (May-June, 1087).

todoulos stay? The existence of monastic 'embassies' in Constantinople is demonstrable from the end of the tenth century. While St Athanasios, *hegoumenos* of the Great Lavra on Mount Athos, may have stayed in the Stoudios Monastery when he came to Constantinople since his writings and monastic regulations show a singular familiarity with the Stoudite customs, it is very likely that, from the beginning of the 11th century, visiting Lavriote monks stayed at the Monastery *tou Panagiou*, where the monk Anthony, one of Athanasios' disciples (and, incidentally, one of his biographers) was *hegoumenos*.⁷ In mid-century, Constantine Monomachos decreed that monks from the houses on Olympos and from the *Nea Mone* on Chios should be allowed to stay in property belonging to the Monastery of St George of the Mangana.⁸ Surely Christodoulos had such a base. It may possibly have been the *patriarcheion* itself, since the monasteries of Latros frequently made appeal to the Patriarch to settle their disputes and we know that Christodoulos placed three-quarters of the books he had brought from Latros to Constantinople for safe-keeping from Turkish attacks (or so he maintained) in Haghia Sophia itself.⁹ The lesson of being 'on the spot' and near the

7. For the influence of Stoudite customs on St Athanasios, see J. Leroy, 'La conversion de S. Athanase l'Athonite à l'idéal cenobitique et l'influence Studite', *Le millénaire du Mont Athos*, 2 vols. (Chevetogne 1964) I, 101-20. Though there is some room to question Leroy's conclusions (especially on the matter of the type of monasticism decreed by Athanasios for the Great Lavra) he was surely right to point to the widespread influence of the Stoudite customs — a matter ripe for further research. For the Monastery *tou Panagiou* at Constantinople, see *Vitae duae antiquae Sancti Athanasii Athonitae*, ed. J. Noret (*Corpus Christianorum*, series graeca, 9, Louvain 1982) cxxiii-cxxiv. Noret suggests that the Lavriotes did not have a *metochion* at Constantinople before 1204, since they were able to stay in this sister monastery, possibly founded by Anthony himself. For the site, see R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin*, I, *Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique*, iii, *Les églises et les monastères*, 2nd ed. (Paris 1969) 385-6.

8. *JGR*, I, Appendix, Docs. VII (1046) and VIII (1047) 631-2, 632. Janin, *Eglises et monastères*, 71, for the arrangements for the reception of visiting monks at the property of *ta Angouria* in Constantinople belonging to the monks of the Monastery of St George of the Mangana.

9. For the patriarchal relationship with the monasteries on Mount Latros, see Janin, *Géographie ecclésiastique*, IV, *Les Églises et les monastères du grands centres byzantins* (Paris 1975) 219 and the documents in Appendix 3. The Latros libraries are discussed

ears of important officials was well learned in monastic quarters; similar *metochia* (especially for the Athonite monks) existed in Thessalonika.¹⁰

But 'being where the action was' was not enough. It is quite clear that Christodoulos had access to privileged information as well as privileged people. He gained control of the property on Leros and Leipsos by *asking* for it, but someone must have told him of its availability and that he was in with a chance. The sequence of events can be reconstructed. Anna Dalassena had, at some point before 1087, transferred lands on Leipsos, Leros and Pharmakos belonging to the Monastery of the Pantepoptes in Constantinople (of which she was a patroness) to the *sekreton* of the Myrelaion and had granted others which the monastery desired in return. But the *vestarches* Matzares and others had seized all the lands on Leros. An enquiry by two high-ranking imperial officials had uncovered lazy administration and 'despotic' behaviour and as a consequence the lands were re-assigned, this time, through the good offices of Anna Dalassena, to Christodoulos and his monks *after he had asked for them*. But how did he know what was going on? We know what position the two imperial enquiry agents held, though not, unfortunately their names. They were the *protoproedros* and *epi ton kriseon* — a judicial official — and an *oikeiotatos* ('intimate'? 'member of the inner imperial household'?) the *protoproedros tou kanikleiou*.¹¹ It is the latter figure who should give us pause for thought and, alas!, the opportunity to correct an error.

by P.L. Vokotopoulos, 'Latros', *EEBS* 35 (1966-7) 69-106, see 102. For the question of the books (a matter of dispute between Christodoulos and his erstwhile charges), see his *Diatheke*, MM, VI, 87. Vokotopoulos cites a possible late reference to the *metochion* in Constantinople of the Monastery of St Paul on Latros, *op. cit.*, 93 and n.2.

10. For Athonite *metochia* in Thessalonika, see, for example, the houses held by Iviron: *Actes d'Iviron*, edd. J. Lefort, N. Oikonomidès, D. Papachryssanthou and H. Métréveli (Paris 1985) I, 86. Most of the other important Athonite houses also had bases there.

11. There is a flurry of official documents, happily preserved in official copies in the Patmos archives, dealing with this matter: a) *BEMP*, I, no. 5 (May, 1087): chrysobull of Alexios Komnenos approving his mother's earlier action and summarising the past history of the lands on Leipsos and Leros. The document clearly states that

If we peer into the future a little, we come across the interesting figure of Theodosios Kastrisios, appointed by Christodoulos in his *Diatheke* (Testament) of 1093 as *charistikarios* of the Monastery of St John the Theologian on Patmos and clearly expected to be the next *hegoumenos*.¹² In 1094, Theodosios renounced this post, because, he maintained, it was impossible to get to Patmos because of Turkish attacks.¹³ In both these

Christodoulos *requested* the property; b) *BEMP*, I, no. 47 (15 June, 1087): *pittakion* of Anna Dalassena confirming the donations made by her son and asking the officials of the Myrelaion (who witnessed the document) to take note that the lands were to go to Christodoulos and not, as originally arranged, to the Monastery of the Pantepoptes; c) *BEMP*, II, no. 52 (1087-9) contains a series of imperial commands to Eustathios Charsianites, the *strategos* of Samos, and documents of his own concerning the allocation of the lands and their measurement, imperial tax exemptions, the noting of donations in the *sekretion ton oikeiakon* and, significantly, a *pittakion* of Anna Dalassena (June, 1088) ordering the *strategos* to investigate complaints by Christodoulos' monks on Leros of lay encroachments and to finally establish the boundaries. A *pittakion* of Eustathios Charsianites himself (after April, 1089) summarises action taken so far and describes the properties on the two islands in detail. It also includes the reports of the officials who drew up the boundaries; d) *BEMP*, I, no. 18 (July, 1099), is a copy of an imperial *lysis* of Alexios Komnenos granting twelve *paroikoi* to the lands on Leipsos.

12. *Diatheke*, 82,²³-83,⁷ for the appointment of Theodosios Kastrisios as Christodoulos' successor if his first choice, his old ally Arsenios Skenoures, did not come and 83,¹⁸, 84,¹, where he is characterised as the *charistikarios*. The family name of Kastresios and variants is known from at least as early as 1264, see *PLP*, fasc. 5, 145-6, nos. 11392-11399. When prosopography for the earlier period has been done, doubtless more members will turn up. I am most grateful to Margaret Mullett for assistance with the hunt for the Kastrisios family and their offices. Vranoussi, *BEMP*, I, 6*, n. 6, suggests that, contrary to the ed. of MM, we should read Theodosios the *kastresios*, indicating an office rather than a surname. But the *kastresios*, the official in charge of the provisioning and ceremonial of the imperial table, was (at least in the tenth century) a eunuch, see N. Oikonomidès, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IX^e et X^e siècles* (Paris 1972) 306. Would such a person also be likely to be a *chartoularios* and patriarchal *notarios*, a remarkable career change if so? Since, if the *kastresios* was still a eunuch in the eleventh century, we cannot translate 'Theodore, son of the *kastresios*', it might be that we should look to his uncle Basil for the holder of this post. Further clarification must await the publication of new editions and facsimiles of Christodoulos' personal documents.

13. *Apotaxis* of Theodosios Kastrisios (5 March, 1094), MM, VI, 90-4. He also returned his copies of Christodoulos' *Diatheke* and its *Kodikellos* as well as other documents concerning the rights of the monastery on Patmos, an interesting indication that *charistikarioi* were given copies of important documents to aid them in preserving the legal rights of the houses under their protection. This *charistikarios*, at least, does not seem to have been of the 'asset-stripping' variety beloved of patriarchal propaganda.

documents, Theodosios Kastrisios is identified only as a *chartoularios* and patriarchal *notarios*, but in his recent work *Private Religious Foundations in the Byzantine Empire*, J.P. Thomas maintains that he was 'the *epi tou kanikleiou* of Alexios Comnenus'.¹⁴ But was he? There is, in fact, no evidence whatsoever in the relevant documents to suggest this was the case. It is certainly true, as Maria Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou pointed out over twenty years ago, that documents from the Patmos archive associate the *epi tou kanikleiou* with the post of *ephoros* (another form of lay protector) of the Monastery of St John the Theologian.¹⁵ But, as she pointed out, it is very likely that this association was made at some point after 1272, since the *Diatheke* of the *hegoumenos* Germanos, drawn up in that year, does not mention it.¹⁶ Nor, of course, do the testamentary documents associated with Christodoulos. In addition, if Theodosios had held this post he would have included it in the list of offices in his signature in the usual way. There are, then, no existing grounds for 'appointing' Theodosios Kastrisios *epi tou kanikleiou* to Alexios Komnenos. Indeed, as far as one can see, the holder of the post in 1094 (when, it will be recalled, he renounced his duties on Patmos), was either a certain Gregory, or one Manuel Philokales.¹⁷

14. J.P. Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations in the Byzantine Empire* (Dumbarton Oaks Studies 24, Washington D.C. 1987) 219. See *Diatheke*, 82,²³⁻⁵ where Theodosios is described as 'my spiritual son, the *chartoularios* and patriarchal *notarios*, the Lord Theodosios Kastrisios, the nephew of the late Basil', and *Apotaxis*, 90,^{16-91, 2}, where he designates himself (in a slight deviation from the words of the *Diatheke* which he is quoting) as 'my [sic] spiritual son, the *chartoularios* and patriarchal *notarios*, Lord Theodosios, the nephew of the late Lord Basil Kastreisios'. His signature reads 'Theodosios, *chartoularios* and patriarchal *notarios*, the nephew of the late Basil Kastreisios': *ibid.*, 93,¹⁶⁻¹⁷.

15. M.G. Nystazopoulou, 'Ο ἐπὶ τοῦ κανικλείου καὶ ἡ ἐφορεία τῆς ἐν Πάτμῳ μονῆς', *Σύμμεικτα*, 1 (1966) 76-94.

16. *ibid.*, 94.

17. V. Laurent, *Le corpus des sceaux de l'empire byzantin* (Paris 1963-72), II, 101-8, deals with seals of the holders of the post of *epi tou kanikleiou* variously described as *proedros*, *protoproedros*, *protos* etc. For Gregory, holder pre-1094-5 in Laurent's view, who was also a *krites tou velou* and the *patrikios* Manuel Philokales, datable to 1094-5, see 105, nos. 223-4.

While abandoning the neat — but erroneous — assumption that Theodosios Kastrisios held the post in question (which ultimately stems from Thomas' wish to have him *ephoros* in name as well as deed),¹⁸ it can, however, be suggested that an *epi tou kanikleiou* may have played some part in the acquisition of the lands on Leipsos and Leros. It was, as we have seen, a *protoproedros tou kanikleiou* who took part in the imperial enquiry into the goings-on on Leros. In addition, there was a long tradition of requesting those holding this post to act as *ephoroi* or *epitropoi* to the Lavra on Mount Athos. The *patrikios* Nikephoros, *epi tou kanikleiou* of Basil II was *epitropos*, *prostates* and *antileptor* of the Lavra and the role of the *epi tou kanikleiou* as a protector of the house was confirmed by Constantine IX in 1052. At the time the post was held by the *praipositos* and *epi tou koitonos* John. Constantine X confirmed the arrangement again in 1060.¹⁹ The choice of the *epi tou kanikleiou* was an inspired one. His job was to authenticate imperial documents with the cinnabar ink, and therefore, presumably, to take an interest in the granting or updating of chrysobulls. He would certainly have worked closely with the Emperor.²⁰ If this arrangement with the Lavra still persisted in the 1080's — and there is no reason to suppose that it did not — then the *epi tou kanikleiou* might have been just the man, 'monk friendly' by profession, to indicate to Christodoulos that, as a result of an enquiry in which he himself had taken part, there might well be lands shortly to be confiscated

18. Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations*, 219: 'the conditions imposed on Theodosios clearly limit him to the status (if not the title) of ephor on the analogy of existing arrangements with the Lavra monastery on Mount Athos'. There is no analogy at this period and Thomas is glossing over the legal niceties (of which the Byzantines were aware) of the different terms used to indicate the varieties of lay protection. See R. Morris, 'Legal Terminology in Monastic Documents of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries', *Akten des XVI. Internationalen Byzantinistenkongresses*, II/2 (Vienna 1981) 281-90, espec. 285-6.

19. See Nystazopoulou, 'Ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ κανικλείου', 86 and Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations*, 218.

20. For the duties of the *epi tou kanikleiou*, see Oikonomidès, *Les listes de préséance*, 311.

and re-assigned on Aegean islands not so far away from his previous establishment on Kos. There is, in addition, good reason to suggest that this official might not have been too concerned to patronise houses on Athos, embroiled as they were in appalling scandals involving Vlachs, eunuchs, youths and internecine feuds of all descriptions.²¹

'Having friends in high places' was thus just as important in oiling the wheels of monastic diplomacy as it was in the secular sphere. Such relationships were also lubricated by the network of spiritual relationships; it is no surprise to learn that Theodosios Kastrisios was the spiritual son of St Christodoulos. Of course, there are a lot of loose ends in all this. By what means did Christodoulos gain the backing of Anna Dalassena? When did they meet — if they did? Who was Theodosios Kastrisios and what post did his late uncle Basil Kastrisios, important enough also to be mentioned in the documents, hold? And why, later on, did Alexios Komnenos decide on further patronage of Christodoulos' monastic undertakings and grant him the island of Patmos? But it is a story (amongst many others from the tenth and eleventh centuries) which illustrates the nature of the monastic embassy and the golden rules for success: base in Constantinople so that the affair could be sat out; access to high officials; a word in the imperial ear. Were monks at an advantage in this respect simply because of their calling? In this case, certainly, but this had much to do with the undoubted skill and charisma of Christodoulos himself. But this was by no means always the case. In contrast to Christodoulos' 'irresistible rise' (and the grant of Patmos was the final prize), we hear of the constant importunings of the Athonite monks for imperial intervention in their feuds, which apparently caused an infuriated Alexios Komnenos to write to the Patriarch Nicholas Grammatikos that 'these troublesome

21. Enumerated in sordid detail in the so-called *Diegesis Merike*, a compendium of reports, letters and other documents dating from the late eleventh century and which is in dire need of re-edition and commentary. See P. Meyer, *Die Haupturkunden für die Geschichte der Athos-Klöster* (Leipzig 1894) 163-84.

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monks bid fair to have their noses slit, to remind them who their master is'.²² Monastic *diplomacy* worked; monastic whingeing did not.

*Department of History,
University of Manchester*

22. *loc. cit.*, 172,²⁰⁻²⁴.

Greece and the Arabs, 1956-1958

EVANTHIS HATZIVASSILIOU

In the second half of the 1950s, Greek foreign policy was dominated by the Cyprus question, while in the Middle East the same period was marked by a series of crises. The developments in the Middle East were important to the Greek government partly because Cyprus's fate depended primarily on British decisions — and these decisions were connected to Britain's position in the Middle East. Simultaneously, the turbulence in the region endangered the Greek communities in it, mainly the large community in Egypt. Yet, it may be said that Athens was rather slow in making an approach to the Arabs, on whose votes the United Nations debates on Cyprus largely depended: such approach took place only in Spring 1956, after the British had deported the Greek Cypriot leader, Archbishop Makarios, and after the new government of Constantinos Karamanlis had scored its first electoral victory.

The present study will begin at this date, March 1956. It will end with the conclusion of the Zurich and London agreements on Cyprus. These agreements not only changed the context in which Greek policy would have to move from then onwards, but were also concluded at a time when the international scene seemed to go through a phase of transition. The paper will deal with the Greek opening to the Egyptians, since Egypt was the leading Arab country at the time, and with Athens's response to the various crises in the Middle East in the years 1956-1958. Greece's policy had a dual aim: to protect the Greeks of Egypt; and to secure Arab support over Cyprus at the UN. Certainly, Greece could only play a minor role in the actual Middle Eastern crises of this period. Her reactions to Middle Eastern developments were determined by her dual aim and by the need to monitor closely the British and the American policies with regard to the Middle East, to Turkey and, in the final analysis, to Cyprus.

It is worth mentioning that in this respect, Greece was at a disadvantage *vis-à-vis* Turkey, her rival in the Cyprus dispute: Ankara was a major factor in the Middle East, and Cyprus was of obvious strategic importance for that region. It was natural, therefore, that for the British (who were anxious to preserve their influence there), Turkey was a more important ally than Greece. Consequently, the Greek case in Cyprus suffered. Nothing is more illuminating than the remark of the British Prime Minister, Sir Anthony Eden in his memoirs, referring to the Cyprus question: 'I regarded our alliance with Turkey as the first consideration in our policy in that part of the world'. Indeed, the beginning of the EOKA action, in April 1955, coincided with the conclusion of the Baghdad Pact between Turkey and Iraq. This Pact (to which Britain, Pakistan and Iran acceded in the course of the same year) became one of the cornerstones of British policies in the region. Thus, the Greek Cypriot revolt started at a time when Turkey had established herself as a valuable ally for London, and this accounts for many British decisions on Cyprus which were seen to have an anti-Greek flavour.¹

I. Athens's Considerations and the Middle East, 1956-1959

Faced with British and Turkish opposition and American 'neutrality', the first two appeals of Athens to the UN (in December 1954 and in September 1955) had disastrous outcomes. Furthermore, the London conference on Cyprus in September 1955, which was attended by the Turks as well as the Greeks and the British, collapsed. After the first two UN debates and the Conference, Turkey seemed firmly established as a part of the Cyprus question. For Greece, this was an unfavourable development. To make matters worse, simultaneously with the Conference, government-organised riots took place in Turkey against the Greek community in Istanbul, ruining Greco-Turkish relations. In March 1956, following the breakdown of the talks

1. Evanthis Hatzivassiliou, 'The Suez Crisis, Cyprus and Greek Foreign Policy, 1956: a View from the British Archives', *Balkan Studies* 30 (1989) 107-129; Sir Anthony Eden, *Memoirs: Full Circle* (London 1960) 414.

between Makarios and the Governor of Cyprus, Field Marshal Sir John Harding, the British deported the Archbishop to the Seychelles. The situation in Cyprus after the deportation was a complete shambles. Makarios was the sole Greek Cypriot spokesman and thus the only hope of reaching an Anglo-Cypriot agreement was destroyed. Athens realised that as a result, a new appeal to the UN might be needed — and maybe more than one such appeal. The previous defeats at New York convinced Athens that new friends should be sought, in order to avoid another rebuff (especially since most of the NATO allies were unfavourable to the Greek appeal). The Greek government sent emissaries to many countries to rally support for Cyprus. The Arab countries represented a big group of states and of votes in the UN. Traditionally suspicious (or even hostile) to Turkey, they seemed to be a possible source of support. Thus, the deterioration of the Greek position with regard to Cyprus was in itself a reason favouring an opening to the Arabs.²

Cyprus, although the most pressing, was not the only Greek motive for the opening to the Arabs. More specific aims had to be realised. The main regional concern for Athens was the fate of the large Greek community in Egypt. There were around 60,000 Greeks with Greek citizenship and around 15,000 with Egyptian or British (Cypriot) citizenship. (In fact, the number of people with British citizenship was 5,000). This community enjoyed great privileges at least until 1945, but faced a difficult situation after the Egyptian revolution of 1952 and the advent of Egyptian nationalism. (Anti-British and anti-European riots had taken place in the country in the early 1950s.) Furthermore, around 1,000 members of the community were of Jewish origin and obviously the situation was harder for them. At the same time, the effort of the Egyptians to achieve national independence, the aim of the Egyptian leader, Gamal Abdel Nasser, was not only directed against the west's diplomatic influence in the Middle East, but

2. Anghelos S. Vlachos, *Deka Khronia Kypriakou* (Ten Years of the Cyprus Question) (Athens 1980) 68-125 and 145-168.

was also combined with an attempt to redress the social balances in the Arab countries. As a result, the social privileges of the Greeks of Egypt became an obvious target for Cairo's policies. The development of Arab nationalism and its radicalisation (following its successes in forcing Britain out of the Suez base in 1954 and resisting the Franco-British intervention in November 1956, and following the humiliations of the Arabs at the hands of the Israelis) made the Egyptians pursue more actively the drive to deprive their country of western influences. The position of the Greek community, in this respect, was only a ring in the chain of the Middle Eastern upheaval of these years — and, for that matter, a minor ring indeed. The Greek government could do nothing to reverse this process, which affected the whole of the Middle East, but it could not remain indifferent to the demise of the Greek community. It will be seen in this paper that Athens realised that the Greeks of Egypt would, in the end, be forced to leave the country, but it wanted to make such withdrawal as smooth as possible.³

Another concern for the Greek government in the Middle East was the control of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem. Athens wanted to keep it under the influence of the Oecumenical Patriarchate of Istanbul, and prevent the Russian Church from controlling Jerusalem, as it was feared that this way the Soviets would get a foothold in Middle Eastern affairs. As the majority of Orthodox Christians in the Middle East were Arabs, Greek diplomacy had to keep a certain balance in the Arab-Israeli dispute. The issue

3. For the Greek community of Egypt, see Alexander Kitroeff, *The Greeks in Egypt, 1919-1939: Ethnicity and Class* (London and Oxford 1989). For the numerical strength of the community in the 1950s, see minute (Liatis), 9 Aug. 1957, Athens, Constantinos G. Karamanlis Foundation, Karamanlis Archive (hereafter referred to as KA), reel 1, pp. 1084-1087; FO minute (Brown), 4 Jan. 1957, London, Public Record Office, Foreign Office records (hereinafter FO) 371/125604/1; FO minute (Winchester), 7 Nov. 1958, FO 371/133992/18. For the social dimensions of the Middle Eastern crisis of the mid-1950s, see Roger Owen, 'The Economic Consequences of the Suez Crisis for Egypt', in William Roger Louis and Roger Owen (eds), *Suez 1956: The Crisis and its Consequences* (Oxford 1989) 363-375. On the Egyptian riots of 1952, see Robert Stephens, *Nasser: A Political Biography* (London 1971) 100-103.

of the Jerusalem Patriarchate will be touched upon again in this paper and it is useful to have in mind this extra complication for the Greek policy in the region. It should be stressed, on the other hand, that the pro-Arab attitude taken by Athens and the country's reluctance to resume full diplomatic relations with Israel did not derive from any anti-Jewish tendency. The Greek governments simply wanted to avoid an alienation of the Arab flock of the Jerusalem Patriarchate, to avoid endangering the Greeks of Egypt and to secure Arab support in the UN.⁴

Other factors were also at work. It should be remembered that the Arab aspiration to improve their standard of living appealed strongly to the Greek state, which was also striving to escape from chronic poverty. The Greek governments, simultaneously, were not indifferent to the prospect of becoming the link between the other countries of the western alliance and the Arabs (as well as a link to Titoist Yugoslavia): this way the country would develop her regional role as a NATO member. It is notable that at the beginning of 1957, the Greek government, in a memorandum to US President Eisenhower's Committee of Citizen Advisers on the Mutual Security Program, strongly stressed the role of the 'link' that Greece could play with regard to these two political units of the international scene. Athens, indeed, had tried to emerge as such a link in January 1956, participating in the two Beirut

4. Anghelos S. Vlachos, *Mia Fora ke Ena Kero Enas Diplomatis (50 Kyverniseis, Tomos IV, Genikos Proxenos (Once Upon a Time a Diplomat [50 Governments] volume IV Consul General)* (Athens 1986) 22-40. At the same time, one should have in mind the anxiety of Athens, in 1952-1954, caused by Makarios's threat to ask Syria to raise Cyprus at the United Nations. The Greeks did not want interference by Damascus in the issue: see Stephen G. Xydis, *Cyprus: Conflict and Conciliation, 1954-1958* (Columbus, Ohio 1967) 133. For a view on Greco-Israeli relations see Amikam Nachmani, *Israel, Turkey and Greece: Uneasy Relations in the East Mediterranean* (London 1987) 85-118. As Nachmani noted, a further obstacle to the improvement of the relations between Greece and Israel, in the 1950s, was the fact that the Israeli lobby in the US, rendered services to Turkey in regard to the Cyprus question. However, when, in 1957, Israel proposed to Athens a deal, whereby Israel would support the Greek case in Cyprus in the United Nations and Greece would extend *de jure* recognition to Israel, the Greeks refused, afraid that such a development would destroy their community in Egypt.

Conferences which sought to deal with the economic development of the Arabs. These Conferences led nowhere, but they do underline the Greek government's interest in the region. It will be useful to note that throughout the period under consideration Athens was at pains to keep balances in many respects: between the western suspicion of the Arabs and the Arab suspicions of the western world, part of which was Greece herself; between the needs of the various parts of Hellenism in Cyprus, in the Middle East and in Turkey; and last but by no means least, between the Arab countries themselves. Indeed, strict neutrality in the intra-Arab disputes was one of the major principles of Greek policy. Greece needed the support of all the Arab countries, regardless of political orientation. Furthermore, she had interests in many of them. For example, there were Greek communities in both Egypt and Lebanon, two states which certainly did not have identical political attitudes; Greece was opposed to Iraq's policy of participation in the British- and Turkish-led Baghdad Pact, but at the same time, she wanted to protect the Greek economic interests in Iraq (the Doxiades enterprises).⁵

II. The first rapprochement and the Suez crisis: 1956

1956 went down to history as the year of the Suez crisis. Nasser, who confronted London that year, posed as the leader of the Arabs. Thus, Nasser was the leader not only of the host country of the Greek community, but also of the most prestigious Arab state as well. To approach Egypt was an obvious choice for Athens. However, in Spring 1956, the Egyptians and the Syrians seemed to be ready to change their hitherto pro-Greek attitudes with regard to Cyprus. The British believed that the Syrians were about to change their policy because they were afraid of the Turks (who were pressing Damascus to review its position) and because they had aspirations on Cyprus themselves. As it transpired, the Arabs did not change their attitudes, as Greece made her open-

5. Greek memorandum to Eisenhower's Committee, 9 Jan. 1957, KA, reel 1, pp. 642-649; minute (Hatzivassiliou), undated (certainly spring 1957), KA, reel 1, pp. 787-796.

ing to them in March. The development of the Suez crisis, later in the year, removed any possibility for an Arab-British understanding on Cyprus.⁶

Immediately after the February 1956 elections, the Greek government decided to send a Cabinet Minister on a tour of Egypt, Syria and Lebanon. The person who was selected for this mission was the Minister without Portfolio, Grigorios Kassimatis, who seems to have courted the post of the Foreign Minister in February. According to Kassimatis's memorandum, submitted after the visit, the objective of the tour, apart from securing Arab support for Cyprus in the United Nations and meeting representatives of the Greek communities, was to convince the Arabs that 'the purpose of Greece [is] to move as an independent State in various directions, pursuing an autonomous foreign policy, without being considered as being bound in this either by her obligations towards the defensive alliance of NATO, or by her central orientation to the Western world'. The three Arab countries promised their support for the Greek case on Cyprus at the UN, but Nasser was rather vague regarding the treatment of the Greek community in Egypt. After his return, Kassimatis submitted his memorandum, in which he strongly recommended the development of relations with the Arabs. He stressed that the pro-Greek attitude of the three Arab countries he had visited should not be taken for granted, even after their public assurances that they would support the Greek case in Cyprus. Kassimatis recommended the opening of separate Embassies in all Arab countries (Greece did not have separate Embassies because of the economic burden this would create.) He was also in favour of inviting the heads of states of Egypt, Syria and Lebanon to visit Athens. Most notably, the Minister believed that Greece could be more active in the region: he considered that Nasser was 'the West's last card' in the Middle East, but that the western powers were alienating him. Kassimatis thought that Greece could play an important role as the link of NATO and the Arabs (because

6. Hatzivassiliou, 'Suez, Cyprus and Greek Foreign Policy'.

Turkey could not play such a role, as the Arabs did not trust her). He stressed that Greece's line, after having belied the impression that Athens was a satellite of the Americans, would help the creation of ties between NATO and the Arabs, and, in the last resort, would be beneficial to the Americans themselves.⁷

This memorandum's conclusions were not followed to the letter. A rather more gradual tactic, typical of Karamanlis's touch in foreign policy, was preferred: Greece slowly improved her relations with the Arabs on the commercial level. By Summer, the relations had improved markedly. In June, the Ambassador in Beirut, Gheorghios Seferiades (Seferis), who also represented Greece in Jordan and Syria, was called to take over the Cyprus Desk in the Foreign Ministry. Seferiades minuted that the Arabs were favourable to the Greek case in Cyprus, but they were facing pressure by Britain and Turkey to review their attitudes. Seferiades recommended the opening of a Greek Embassy in Syria, as well as the invitation of at least one Arab head of State and of Lebanese and Syrian journalists to visit Athens. Meanwhile, the Greek Radio, under the guidance of the Minister for the Prime Minister's Office, Constantinos Tsatsos, was preparing to start broadcasts in Arabic.⁸

The Suez crisis of Summer 1956, though, upset the Greek efforts and placed Athens in a sharp dilemma. In July 1956, after the US and Britain had withdrawn the offer of loans to the Egyptian government, Nasser nationalised the Suez Canal. The British and the French were outraged by this action. The US was in favour of a more cautious policy. The Americans wanted to avoid a war crisis in an election year and to avoid giving the impression, to the Arabs, that they sided with the old colonial powers. In Summer, thus, under US guidance, it was decided to convene a Conference of the maritime powers, to examine the Canal issue. To this first Suez Conference, Greece, having a strong merchant fleet,

7. Memorandum to the Cabinet (Kassimatis), 12 April 1956, KA, reel 5, pp. 2407-2408.

8. Minute (Seferiades), 14 June 1956, KA, reel 5, pp. 2436-2437; Lambert (Athens) to Young, 4 July 1956, FO 371/123852/1.

was invited as well. The maritime powers, also, withdrew their pilots from the Canal area. Without these pilots, it was thought, the Canal would be closed and Nasser would be put in the wrong, as the Suez Convention of 1888 imposed that the Canal should be open to navigation.⁹

Thus, unexpectedly Athens had to make an important choice whether to attend the Conference or not. The Americans, the French and the British pressed the government to attend, and the US Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, sent a personal message to Karamanlis asking for Greek participation. The choice was not an easy one. If Greece attended, Arab support in the United Nations would be put at stake and the Greeks of Egypt would be left unprotected. But if Greece refused to attend, she would alienate the British so much that her Cyprus claim might be damaged; the Americans might easily be alienated by the refusal — and American support on Cyprus was vital for Greece; and finally, a country with a strong merchant fleet, had an interest to side with the maritime powers. On 11 August 1956, however, the new Greek Foreign Minister, Evangelos Averoff-Tossizza, declined the invitation. The Greek government had appeared divided on the issue, but finally decided that the need to maintain Arab support for Cyprus and to protect the Greeks of Egypt was more pressing than the economic considerations or the theoretical possibility that Britain would be impressed by the Greek attitude and adopt a different Cyprus policy. Athens also, at Nasser's request, did not withdraw the Greek pilots from Suez. The Canal remained open for navigation and the Greek pilots contributed to this to a great extent. The Egyptians decorated the pilots, and a Greco-Egyptian cultural convention was signed on 4 September. The British were outraged by all these developments. The British Embassy in Athens even expressed the view that Greece was not a loyal NATO member, a surprisingly strong view of the Kara-

9. David Carlton, *Britain and the Suez Crisis* (Oxford 1988) 35-56; Richard Lamb, *The Failure of the Eden Government* (London 1987) 183-197.

manlis government, which had repeatedly expressed its attachment to the Alliance.¹⁰

There is an information in the book by Mohamed Heikal, (editor of the *Al Ahram*), that in Summer 1956 the EOKA was passing on information to the Egyptians about the movement of British aircraft in Cyprus. There is no confirmation of this in the available Greek sources. On the contrary, the government was clearly anxious that EOKA would not hesitate to develop links with the Egyptians or Syrians if Athens did not help it. It seems certain that even if EOKA had given such information, it did so without the knowledge of the Greek government. The Anglo-French invasion of Egypt, in November, created, again, a new situation. Athens kept its neutrality during the crisis. Averoff made clear to Moscow that Greece would refuse to allow Soviet planes to use the Greek airspace on their way to the Middle East (there were rumours that the Soviets would try to do so). On the other hand, the Greek Consulate General in Cyprus took over the protection of Egyptian interests in the island, after the Anglo-French invasion of Egypt. This was a clear sign that Athens and Cairo were closer than ever. Averoff, on 12 December, during the NATO Ministerial meeting, explained the Greek policy in the Suez crisis and stressed that the western alliance should reckon with the Arab awakening: NATO's immediate aim, Averoff said, should be to ensure and stabilise Arab-Israeli peace, thus depriving the Soviets of opportunities to interfere in the region. Averoff also mentioned some Arab ideas on Cyprus's demilitarisation.¹¹

Initially, the Suez crisis seemed to improve the prospects for a more active Greek policy in Cyprus. On 1 December, the Greek Permanent Representative at the United Nations, Khristos

10. Dulles to Karamanlis, 4 Aug. 1956, KA, reel 6, p.34; Hatzivassiliou, 'Suez, Cyprus and Greek Foreign Policy'; Mohamed Heikal, in his book *Nasser: The Cairo Documents* (London 1973) 97, noted that apart from Egypt herself, of all the countries which invited to the Conference, Greece was the only one to decline the invitation.

11. *Foreign Relations of the United States* (hereafter referred to as *FRUS*), 1955-57, volume IV, documents 43 and 46, pp. 116-122 and 134-137 respectively; M. Allen to Trivedi, 21 Nov. 1956, FO 371/119331/12; Heikal, 98; Carlton, 56-92.

Xanthopoulos-Palamas expressed the view that Greece should consider submitting a draft Resolution which linked the Cyprus question to the security in the Middle East. Palamas believed that if this Resolution were favourable to the Arabs and if it were discussed at that moment, it would stand a chance of being adopted by the necessary two-thirds majority. Yet, the debate on Cyprus did not take place until February 1957, while another dramatically unfavourable development for Greece took place in December 1956. On 19 December, under pressure from the Turks, the British publicly accepted what became known as the principle of 'double self-determination' for Cyprus. They said that in case self-determination was applied in the island, the Greek and the Turkish Cypriots would decide their future status separately. This meant that partition, not Enosis, became the most likely result of the exercise of self-determination. The December 1956 statement was a severe blow to the Greek thesis and Athens rejected it out of hand. But Turkey endorsed it, coming out in favour of early partition. With Turkey asking for this, a completely new Cyprus situation emerged. During the next two years, trying to block the Turkish advances in the direction of partition, both the Greek government and Makarios floated the idea of guaranteed independence. The British however, still in need of Turkish support for their policies in the Middle East, were very reluctant to endorse such a scheme, out of fear that the Turks would not agree to it.¹²

III. The Eisenhower Doctrine and the 'Egyptianisation' policy

In the Suez crisis, Nasser had not only survived, but he had also posed as the Arab hero, who resisted the colonialist powers. The Egyptian leader now felt strong enough to press on with the 'Egyptianisation' of the enterprises in his country, a move which severely damaged the interests of the Greek community. Parts

12. Palamas to Foreign Ministry, 1 Dec. 1956, KA, reel 6, pp. 104-106; Hatzivassiliou, 'Suez, Cyprus and Greek Foreign Policy'; Xydis, *Conflict and Conciliation*, 47-48 and 152; FO minute (Thomson), 30 July 1957, FO 371/130116/120.

of the community, also, had suffered particularly hard from the fighting. For example, the Greeks of Port Said were facing great difficulties to acquire food, and were being fed in a soup kitchen in the Greek Consulate; apart from that, the 1,000 members of the community of Jewish origin had an even harder time; the 700 Greek technicians of Ismailia were left unemployed. The result of all these pressures was that the exodus of the Greeks was accelerated. As the Greek representative in NATO, Michael Melas (a former Ambassador in Cairo) told the NATO Council in August 1957, between 1947 and 1956 1,500 Greeks had left Egypt, while after the invasion, the rate was 500 per month. Thus, the invasion caused a further deterioration of the community's position. On the other hand, early in 1957, the Arabs pressed the Greek government not to promise any kind of bases in Cyprus to the British and to call for the demilitarisation of the island. Athens was not prepared to go that far in satisfying Arab requirements, but it used the new Arab interest in Cyprus, in 1957, to help Greek policy on the Cyprus question. Thus, Averoff, in February, stressed to Dulles that the Syrians would also want to participate in a new international Conference on Cyprus, as Cyprus was of a strategic importance for them too. This way, the Greek government tried to block the British and Turkish claim that Enosis was impossible, because of Cyprus's strategic importance to Turkey. Averoff, later, reinforced his arguments against the partition of Cyprus, by stressing to the British that the Arabs might then ask for the partition of the Alexandretta region, which Turkey had obtained from Syria prior to the Second World War. (In that region, the Turkish proportion of the population was much smaller than the overwhelming Greek majority in Cyprus, but partition had not taken place).¹³

In February, the United Nations debate on Cyprus ended with a compromise on a 'colourless' Resolution. It was the first time

13. FO minute (Brown), 4 Jan. 1957, FO 371/125604/1; Porter (NATO) to FO, 28 Aug. 1957, FO 371/130018/7; *FRUS, 1955-57, XXIV*, document 217, p.442; *ibid*, document 221, pp. 448-450; Xydis, *Conflict and Conciliation* 49; and, by the same author, *Cyprus: Reluctant Republic*, (The Hague and Paris 1973) 91.

that the Greeks had not been defeated in the debate and Athens had every reason to feel pleased with the result. On the other hand, it is interesting that after Makarios's release, in March, Syria was quick to offer residence to him, a clear sign that Damascus wanted to get involved in the Cyprus issue, having itself aspirations on the island. In fact, the Greek government seemed to be conscious of this: one of the reasons why, in spring 1957, it was reluctant to press the EOKA to end its armed campaign in Cyprus, was exactly the fear that 'others' might undertake to support it.¹⁴

The Suez crisis, however, had upset the Middle Eastern situation in many respects. British and French prestige had suffered both from the fact that they had invaded an Arab country, and from the fact that they had been defeated. The British-dominated Baghdad Pact had attracted only one Arab country, Iraq, and had provoked the suspicion of the other Arabs, and thus it did not get full American support. After the 1956 crisis, furthermore, the US felt that there was a vacuum of power in the Middle East, a vacuum which opened the way for a possible Soviet interference. To prevent this, the Americans, on 5 January 1957, proclaimed the Eisenhower Doctrine, which assured any Middle Eastern state that wanted to resist the Soviet interference in the area, that the US would provide help, including economic aid and military assistance. The American strategy in the region, though, was not clear. As Alan Dowty stressed, the main American difficulty was 'how to deal with the rising force of Nasserist Arab nationalism, with its radical and anti-Western tone, in the framework of a policy still oriented fundamentally to the containment — if not the total defeat — of Soviet and/or communist power in the world at large'. In effect, the Doctrine confused two different political realities: Communism and Arab nationalism. Yet, in spring 1957, the Doctrine appeared to be an important initiative. A Special Assistant to Eisenhower, James P. Richards, toured the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East, trying to get the countries

14. Amman to FO, 10 April 1957, FO 371/130107/1.

of the region to subscribe to the Doctrine. Greece did so as well.¹⁵

Notably, it was the Greek government itself, not the US, that pressed for Greece's subscription to the Doctrine. Athens had a number of reasons to help the Americans. After a whole year of expanding its relations with the Arabs, the Greek government was in a position to review its efforts. The Greek community in Egypt was still having a difficult time, the Cyprus question had evolved into the disastrous December statement, Turkey continued to be close to the British in the Middle East. In short, the Greek aim of becoming a peaceful link between the west and the Arabs had not been realised, whereas the Turks were always dominant in British thinking on the Middle East. Britain, however, was in a difficult situation after the Suez crisis. The British difficulties and the Arab mistrust of Turkey might open the possibilities of Greece becoming useful for the American effort. It was now that the aforementioned Greek memorandum, arguing that the country could become a link to the Arabs and the Yugoslavs, was given to the Americans. Greece, also, needed American support to continue the Cyprus struggle. The Greek view of the Middle Eastern situation, furthermore, did not suffer from doubts about Nasser's position with regard to Soviet aspirations. Athens felt that Nasser was not a Soviet satellite, but that western behaviour was driving him into the arms of the Soviets. It was exactly this belief that made the Greek government confident that it could play a role in the Doctrine. The Eisenhower Doctrine seemed to provide Greece with an important opportunity on many levels: to gain advantages from her pro-Arab policy, to aid the position of her Middle Eastern communities, to help the Americans (and then ask them to help Greece on Cyprus, in turn), to develop her regional role as a NATO power and to limit Turkish usefulness to the US and Britain in the Middle East. The Greek minutes and

15. Robert D. Divine, *Eisenhower and the Cold War* (New York and Oxford 1981) 89-96; Alan Dowty, *Middle East Crisis: US Decision Making in 1958, 1970 and 1973* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London 1984) 23.

briefs for the meeting with Richards strongly stressed the need to help the economic development of the Arabs. Indeed, one of them noted that the west tried to approach the Arabs by concluding political Pacts, whereas the Arabs were interested in economic ones. This was the reason, the Greek Foreign Ministry held, that Nasser turned to Moscow: the Soviets offered aid without asking political concessions as a precondition.¹⁶

The Americans, however, had not aimed at the inclusion of Greece in the Doctrine. They simply included Athens in Richard's tour because Turkey was also included. In fact, the Americans had not yet defined the exact area that the Doctrine would cover. Richards, though, faced intense Greek pressure for Greece's inclusion. As the British Embassy in Athens reported on 10 May, the relevant *communiqué*, issued after Richard's talks with Karamanlis, 'was eighty per cent a Greek draft and the Greek Ministers, particularly Karamanlis, made the running.' As an American document on Richard's meeting with Karamanlis noted, the Greeks were critical of the US policy of laying emphasis on Turkey. Karamanlis 'indicated particularly that Greece's long history of trade with the Middle East, the numerous Greek colonies in Arab states, the influence of the Greek Orthodox Church, the association of Greek and Middle East military in spirit of confidence, the lack of Arab fear of Greece because of the latter's lack of imperialist ambitions, and the fact that Greece could serve as a show window of the results of American friendship and aid were all factors which emphasised the potential of Greece in playing an important role in the Middle East.' Richards, for his part, indicated that Greece could expect no aid from his mission and the Greek government did not make such a request. That, in fact, was a major point for the Americans: 'Therefore, no commitments were made'. However, the Opposition attacked the government for giving in to American pressure and for

16. Minute (Liatis), 27 April 1957, KA, reel 1, pp. 781-786; minute (Hatzivassiliou), undated (certainly spring 1957), KA, reel 1, pp. 787-796; minute (Averoff), 26 April 1957, KA, reel 1, pp. 797-798.

undertaking commitments to the US. Such a thing as commitments did not exist, but the relevant statement by the US Ambassador, George V. Allen, did not seem to convince the Opposition.¹⁷

In the talks between Richards and the Greek Ministers, Karamanlis emphasised the importance of the economic development of the Arabs. Indeed, the Greek acceptance of the Doctrine was directly linked to the economic dimension. Karamanlis 'stressed (. . .) that the position taken by Greece with regard to the Eisenhower Doctrine should be understood to mean that Greece approved of it as ensuring peace in the Middle East, of which Greece is a neighbor, as well as ensuring the development of the economy of those countries.' The way that Greece would be useful to the Doctrine would be the subject of further talks. Yet, the Greek-American understanding on the Eisenhower Doctrine was incomplete. Athens had misunderstood American views on Nasser and the US had misunderstood what Athens regarded as the most important part of the Doctrine. The Greek government, having in mind the staunch US attitude in confronting Britain and France during the Suez invasion, hoped that the Americans wanted to come to terms with Arab nationalism, to encourage its development towards less extremist channels and deny Nasser to the Soviets. The government seemed to consider the Eisenhower Doctrine as the equivalent to the Marshal Aid for Europe, an effort to ensure economic development for the Arabs, thus wooing them from Soviet influence. However, this was not the case — not exactly anyway. The Americans *had* tried to come to terms with Arab nationalism and deal with it as a rising social and political force which could be won over, in 1950-1955. Still, Washington concluded that this could not be done, after Nasser's purchase of arms from the Soviet bloc in 1955. The US did not disagree with London and Paris over Suez in matters of aims, but in matters of means, namely the collusion with Israel and the use of armed force. This was why Washington had con-

17. Athens to FO, 10 May 1957, FO 371/130023/3; *FRUS*, 1955-57, XXIV, document 306, pp. 581-2.

fronted these two countries, although it *appeared* to have sided with Nasser against the old colonialist powers. The Americans, on the other hand, not having yet very clear ideas on how they should deal with Arab nationalism, seemed to consider the Greek subscription as approval of a containment mentality, containment not only of the Soviets, but of Nasser as well. This misunderstanding between Athens and Washington continued to exist and a rift to grow. This rift was exposed soon, because the Turco-Syrian war crisis of Autumn definitely pushed the US to a direction opposite to that Athens had hoped. Greece was not an instrumental part of American policy in the region and, as a result, stood little chance of influencing American views.¹⁸

The Eisenhower Doctrine was only a part of the Greek concerns in the region. Nasser's policy of the 'Egyptianisation' of enterprises and the increasing exodus of the Greeks from the country was another important aspect. The 'Egyptianisation' measures even covered persons who had acquired Egyptian nationality up to 10 years ago. Many Greeks had got Egyptian nationality, losing their Greek one, but as this had not taken place prior to 1946, they were unprotected against Nasser's laws. Prominent members of the community now went to Athens to confer with Karamanlis and Tsatsos. In February 1957, a Greek minute outlined the line to be taken in discussions with Nasser. The Greek community was loyal to the Egyptian state and Greece a friend of Egypt. Therefore, there was no security problem from the community. In the previous two years Greece had closed down two *Gymnasias* and two Consulates in Egypt. Greece, facing her own demographic problem, could not rehabilitate the whole community within the frontiers of the Greek state. (The necessary funds were not available, and the Greeks leaving Egypt were not

18. Records of the talks between Richards and the Greek Ministers, KA, reel 1, pp. 799-807; minute (Kalligas), 13 May, KA, reel 1, 715-724; Peter L. Hahn, 'Containment and Egyptian Nationalism: The Unsuccessful Effort to Establish the Middle East Command, 1950-1953', *Diplomatic History* 11 (1987) 23-40; W. Scott Lucas, 'Suez, the Americans, and the Overthrow of Anthony Eden', *LSE Quarterly* 1 (1987) 227-254.

allowed to take *their* money with them). The Foreign Ministry, furthermore, did not believe that Nasser wanted the total demise of the Greek presence in his country. What Athens should try to achieve was to exempt those members of the community who already had 'established rights' (in employment and property) from the 'Egyptianisation' laws. The Ministry also agreed with the Cairo Embassy's suggestion that Greece should try to protect the young members of the community who were living in Egypt and studying in Egyptian Universities. It should be agreed that the Greeks already having shares in Egyptian companies (the most notable sign of 'established rights') would keep these shares, but would not have the right to sell them to other than Egyptians. These steps, the Foreign Ministry stressed, would mean that Hellenism would be eliminated from Egypt, but not immediately and the Greek state would have the time to limit the damages. Athens should try to conclude a Treaty with Egypt, or, failing this, to exchange letters with Cairo (something which would also amount to an agreement), which would protect at least those already working in the country. The Greek Ambassador in Cairo, Dimitrios Lambros, made representations on these lines to Nasser on 3 March and 28 May 1957. The Ambassador stressed that what the community needed was an official reassurance, to ease the 'psychosis of exodus'. Nasser promised to protect the Greeks employed as commercial representatives, but he had taken no such measure by the beginning of Summer.¹⁹

The Greek representations produced an invitation from Nasser to Karamanlis to visit Egypt. This invitation helped reassure the Greeks of Egypt about Egyptian intentions. It was also a good opportunity for the Greek government to prove to the Arabs that its acceptance of the Eisenhower Doctrine was not directed against Cairo. Karamanlis informed the Americans about his intention to go to Egypt. The State Department replied that this would be

19. Minute (unsigned), 19 Feb. 1957, KA, reel 1, pp. 682-684; Lambros to Foreign Ministry, 2 Aug. 1957, reel 1, pp. 1004-1053; Paper given to Nasser on 3 March 1957, KA, reel 1, pp. 1054-1058; Peake (Athens) to Selwyn Lloyd, 8 Feb. 1957, FO 371/130018/1.

resented by some NATO members, especially Britain and France, and that Nasser's isolation should continue, but if Karamanlis went, he should warn Nasser that Egypt was falling in the Soviets' hands. Despite a clear preference of the Americans for the visit not to take place, Karamanlis decided to go. As *The Times* of 17 August wrote, this was the first visit of a western Prime Minister to Egypt since the Suez crisis. The paper also stressed Athens' ambition to act as a bridge between the west and the Arabs. It is notable that although the US and Britain did not like the visit, they did not view it with contempt, as they realised that there were substantial Greek interests at stake. Some days before the visit, the determination of Greeks and Egyptians to increase the trade between the two countries was announced. It was also made known that Athens and Cairo had agreed in principle to the settlement of the outstanding sums from previous commercial exchanges. The Egyptians, indeed, were debtors to the Greeks for more than 15 million US dollars.²⁰

Karamanlis and Averoff went to Egypt between 17 and 21 August. The trip was useful in promoting the image of Greece as a country with close connections to the Arabs and in confirming the support of the leading Arab country for Greek policy on Cyprus. In fact, the Egyptians seemed very pleased to see that the Greek position towards them had not changed. The Egyptian Press remembered that the Greek pilots had not been withdrawn from the Canal during the Summer of 1956. As Averoff noted in his memoirs, the Egyptian Foreign Minister, Mahmoud Fauzi, had asked him to consider the Egyptian delegation at the United Nations as an extension of the Greek delegation. The enthusiasm of the Egyptian Press for the visit also served as a reassurance to the Greek community. In the *communiqué* issued after the talks, the Egyptian President expressed his ap-

20. FO to Athens, 28 June 1957, FO 371/130018/3; extract from *The Times*, 17 Aug. 1957, FO 371/130036/1. The question of the Egyptian debt to Greece was settled in the negotiations of June-December 1958; extract from the *Journal du Commerce et de la Marine*, of Alexandria, 20 Feb. 1959, FO 371/144541/1.

preciation of the loyalty of the Greeks living in Egypt and of their contribution to the economy and life of his country. The visit, confirming the fact that relations between Athens and Cairo were excellent, secured a better status for the Greek community compared to that of the other foreign nationals, but only in the sense that the community was permitted to disappear more slowly than the other foreign ones. As Ambassador Alexis Liatis (the Head of the Middle Eastern Affairs section of the Greek Foreign Ministry), who accompanied Karamanlis and Averoff in Cairo, told the British, the future looked rather gloomy for the foreign nationals living in Egypt, as the Egyptians were slowly acquiring the technical skills necessary to replace foreigners. Thus, the assurances the Greeks got were on the one hand inadequate to prevent the disappearance of the community, but on the other they were the maximum Athens could get. Liatis's views point to political as well as social reasons why this was so. The awakening of Arab nationalism, the emergence of a new generation of technically educated Egyptians, and the impact of the Suez crisis of 1956 on Egyptian nationalism made the demise of the Greek community practically inevitable. After the visit, Averoff informed the British that the Egyptian leader seemed to want to keep some links with the west, but London did not seem to accept this. The Greeks, also, informed the US on Nasser's views.²¹

In the same month, August, and before Karamanlis's trip to Cairo, the Sudanese Foreign Minister, Mohamed Ahmed Mahgoub, had visited Greece. In November 1957, President Camille Chamoun of Lebanon visited Athens. Averoff returned

21. 'Visit to Egypt', KA, reel 1, pp. 923-933; Allen (Athens) to Selwyn Lloyd, 29 Aug. 1957, FO 371/130018/5; BBC monitoring report, 20 Aug. 1957, FO 371/130036/1; *FRUS*, 1955-57, XXIV, document 311, pp. 596-597; Evangelhos Averoff-Tossizza, *Historia Khamenon Efkerion: Kypriako, 1950-1963* (History of Lost Opportunities: The Cyprus Question, 1950-1963), volume I (Athens 1982) 260; Spyros Linardatos, *Apo ton Emphylio Stin Hounta, Tomos III, 1955-1961* (From the Civil War to the Junta, volume III, 1955-1961) (Athens 1978) 251-252.

Mahgoub's visit, in early January 1958. The Greek contacts with the Arab states at leaders' level had thus become frequent.²²

IV. From the Syrian crisis to the Cyprus settlement

In August 1957, the Turco-Syrian war crisis occurred. The two countries came to the edge of war and the United Nations Assembly debated the issue. Athens again had to deal with the familiar dilemma: Syria had supported the Greek case on Cyprus and Greece was on extremely bad terms with Turkey. Yet, the issue was not one between a friend and an enemy: it was between a NATO ally and a friend of the Soviet Union. In fact, the crisis had been accelerated by Soviet interference in Syria. The US, in response, sent arms to Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon and Saudi Arabia, a move which, according to Averoff's view, was not justified on the basis of the Eisenhower Doctrine. Thus, the difference in Greco-American views emerged. On 26 September, speaking in the General Assembly of the United Nations, Averoff supported the Syrians and offered the Greek views on the Arabs. Referring to Egypt in particular, he stressed the strength of Arab nationalism and noted that the Arab countries wanted to achieve economic development. He remarked that if one overlooked this Arab aim, one could not deal with the Middle Eastern situation realistically. According to the Greek Foreign Minister, nothing lasting would be achieved in the region, as long as two basic aspects were ignored; the need for co-operation to raise the standard of living in the Arab countries; and the need for full respect for the national dignity and independence of the Arab peoples. During the United Nations debate on the Syrian question (22-30 October), Greece supported the Syrians. However, the Greek Representative, Andreas Stratos, as well as supporting Arab aspirations for a better international position, made a fierce attack

22. Allen to FO, 20 Aug. 1957, FO 371/130024/1; Beirut to FO, 26 Nov. 1957, FO 371/130106/2; Allen to Selwyn Lloyd, 15 Nov. 1957, FO 371/128006/2; Chapman-Andrews (Khartoum) to Selwyn Lloyd, 21 Jan. 1958, FO 371/136230/1.

against Turkey. Stratos did so despite the instructions of Athens to be moderate.²³

Simultaneously, in these months the Greek government tried to block British ideas for a new international Conference on Cyprus. Part of this effort was a Greek request to the Egyptians and the Syrians, to appear in the September 1957 UN debate on the inscription of the Greek item on Cyprus as 'interested parties'. Greek diplomacy hoped that, since the British would not want Nasserite involvement in the island, they would be less enthusiastic about international Conferences. Cairo and Damascus rejected this request, perhaps because they were already in trouble over the Turco-Syrian war-scare. Meanwhile, the developments in Greece's policy towards the Arabs since early Summer, and especially Stratos's tone in the October UN debate on the Syrian question, provoked American concern. George Allen complained to Averoff about the Stratos speech on 28 October. The Greek Foreign Minister noted that it was not Greece's fault if Turkey were isolated from her neighbours. Averoff also resisted this American approach, reminding Allen of the contempt Dulles's message on the September 1955 Turkish riots of Istanbul had caused to Greece. But Stratos's speech also alarmed Palamas who, after meeting the US representative at the United Nations, Henry Cabot Lodge, reported that the US supported Turkey on the Syrian question and that there was the danger that this support might spread to the Cyprus question. On 11 November, the US *Chargé d'Affaires* in Athens, James K. Penfield, noted a 'disengagement' of Greece from the 'essentially "American" policy' she followed since 1944. This, Penfield noted, was evident in Greek domestic politics, in the development of the country's relations with Eastern European countries and in her Middle Eastern policy.²⁴

23. Xydis, *Conflict and Conciliation*, 185, 230 and 276-278; Dowty, 39.

24. Record (G. Allen-Averoff), 28 Oct. 1957, KA, reel 6, pp. 385-393; Allen to FO, 11 Nov. 1957, FO 371/130087/127; *FRUS, 1955-57, XXIV*, document 312, pp. 597-599; Xydis, *Conflict and Conciliation*, 635 and 236-237.

Greek policy-makers were concerned at this Greco-American difference, but they were also determined to continue their Arab policy, which they thought correct as well as necessary to protect the Greeks of Egypt. In December, while in New York for the Cyprus debate, Averoff explained to Dulles the Greek position on the Syrian question. Averoff also tried to convince Dulles that it was possible for the west to regain the Arabs. The Greek Foreign Minister argued that the Arab countries faced three questions: the dispute with Israel, the war against French rule in Algeria, and the standard of living. The west could solve the first two. According to Averoff, the Arabs were afraid that Israel might become a country of 5-7 million and seek expansion. They wanted a solution of the refugee question and frontier rectifications. He insisted that in return the Arabs would recognise Israel and its right of free navigation in the Gulf of Aqaba and in Suez. Averoff insisted that Nasser wanted a compromise and told Dulles that Greece was prepared to mediate, but would not move if the other NATO countries did not accept this line of thinking. This time, thus, the Greek government's ambitions were going very far and, if nothing else, revealed an inflated perception of Athens about its potentialities in the region. The Americans, at any event, did not encourage Athens to work on it. The chances of success for a Greek initiative in the Arab-Israeli dispute were anyway limited, because Greece had taken pro-Arab positions, had not resumed full diplomatic relations with Israel and these caused the inevitable reserve of Jerusalem.²⁵

The months after August 1957 were marked by the resurgence of the Cold War. Palamas's estimations of a possible pro-Turkish turn of the American policy, after the Turco-Syrian crisis, have already been mentioned. On 20 November 1957, the Greek Ambassador in Washington, Gheorghios Melas, stressed that the first Sputnik flight and the Soviet ICBM tests, by increasing

25. Averoff (New York) to Karamanlis, 3 Dec. 1957, KA, reel 6, pp. 493-495; The Greeks had the ambition to mediate in the Arab-Israeli dispute even in 1954: See Nachmani, 113.

American anxiety, had created further difficulties for the Greek effort to have US support in Cyprus. (In fact, the 'missile gap' scare, resulting from these Soviet moves, led the Americans to install bases in Turkey, in order to balance the perceived Soviet supremacy. Thus, Turkey's importance for the US was greatly enhanced in 1958.) The Greek case on Cyprus suffered from the intensification of the Soviet-American antagonism, as it was very difficult for a country belonging to the one of the two 'worlds' to maintain an independent line towards the Arabs. Still, these tendencies had not yet fully developed at the time of the new UN debate on Cyprus in December 1957, when, for the first and only time, Greece won the vote in the Political Committee. She failed to get a two thirds majority in the General Assembly, and therefore she did not manage to get the Enosis Resolution she wanted, but the fact that she won a majority in the voting was clearly an advance from the previous debates. The support of the Arab countries played an important role in this Greek success.²⁶

By January 1958, the increasing Greek contacts with the Arabs had caused concern to the British as well. As the British Ambassador in Athens, Sir Roger Allen, wrote in the annual review for 1957, the Greeks were 'particularly anxious' about their community in Egypt. The Ambassador pointed to Karamanlis's visit to Egypt and to the Lebanese President's visit to Athens in November: 'These contacts are potentially objectionable from our point of view and they need to be watched'. The British and the Turks now started to put pressure on the Lebanese, to review their pro-Greek attitude on Cyprus. The British renewed their pressures in March 1958, prior to the visit by King Paul and Queen Frederica to Beirut, which took place in April. Actually, the Greek

26. G. Melas to Averoff, 20 Nov. 1957, KA, reel 6, pp. 408-423; on the December 1957 UN debate and the Arab support to the Greek item see Xydis, *Conflict and Conciliation*, 301-484.

royals did not raise Cyprus in Beirut, as in Spring 1958 Athens was waiting the new British scheme for Cyprus.²⁷

If this was a period of uncertainty in international affairs, because it was the time of transition to a more tense international climate, it was also a period of further Greek difficulties. The Karamanlis government resigned in February 1958, following a revolt of some MPs. Karamanlis won the election in May, but the political uncertainty for two months prevented any new initiative with regard to the Arabs. The Americans, anxious to restore Greco-Turkish relations and to deal with the new international scene, supported the Macmillan plan for Cyprus of June 1958, a plan which the Greeks considered the worst so far. The Turkish Cypriot communal violence in Cyprus and the rift between the EOKA and the Greek Cypriot communists were further causes of anxiety for Athens. Furthermore, the result of the May election, by bringing the Left wing EDA as the major Opposition party, reflected a notable growth of neutralist tendencies in Greece, largely the result of the public's feeling that they had been let down by Britain and the US on the Cyprus question.²⁸

Simultaneously, in Summer 1958 new developments in the Middle East attracted the attention of policy-makers. In mid-July, the pro-British Iraqi regime collapsed. The new regime, under Brigadier-General Abdul Kassim, was neutralist, and represented a severe blow to the Baghdad Pact. The Middle Eastern crisis had the long term consequence of making Ankara more accommodating on Cyprus, because the Turks now felt that they had been isolated. But in the short term, there were other pressing problems. The Iraqi Revolution accelerated a severe crisis in the Middle East. In May, Chamoun, trying to secure his re-election as President, asked for American interference against alleged

27. Allen to Selwyn Lloyd, 28 Jan. 1958, FO 371/136218/1; Middleton (Beirut) to Crosthwaite (New York), 7 Jan. 1958, FO 371/136356/1; Middleton to FO, 31 March 1958, and Middleton to Selwyn Lloyd, 3 May 1958, FO 371/136356/2.

28. Linardatos, 296-334.

Nasserite efforts to take over the country. The Americans and the British decided to intervene with army units, to protect Lebanon and Jordan, following requests from Beirut and Amman. This time the situation for Greece was even more difficult: the Arab friends of Greece were never an example of smooth political co-operation, but now there was an open breach, as Lebanon and Jordan asked for western intervention, fearing interference in their internal affairs from the newly formed Syro-Egyptian union, the United Arab Republic. Athens's policy of avoiding embroilment in the disputes between Arabs was in danger. The Americans — whose support on Cyprus had to be regained — wanted to send troops to Beirut. These troops had to pass through Greek territory and Athens, although with some difficulty, agreed to the passage of American forces. Throughout this period, the Greek government was also concerned about the future of the substantial Greek private investments in Iraq, which may account for the quick recognition of the new Iraqi regime by Athens.²⁹

At the same time, the Greek government was alarmed at the consequences of the implementation of the Macmillan plan for Cyprus. Karamanlis and Averoff stressed to Sir Roger Allen their objections to the plan, and in particular their anxiety that the combination of communal autonomy (which the British Prime Minister introduced) with the presence of a Turkish governmental representative in the island, would prejudice Cyprus's future status in the direction of partition. The Greek Ministers noted that if the plan proceeded, the government might resign, with the result of a military regime taking over Athens, as the Centre Opposition had been crushed in the May elections. The consequences, the Greek Ministers stressed, would be disastrous. A real swing to neutralism could not be ruled out and a military regime, trying to gain popularity, would easily drift to a withdrawal from NATO, a development which would help neither the Greek case in Cyprus

29. On the Middle Eastern crisis of 1958, see, Dowty, 23-110; Divine, 97-104. Allen to Selwyn Lloyd, 16 Jan. 1959, FO 371/144516/1.

nor the interests of western defence. The Greek government had good relations with Nasser but it did not want to follow his path — and that was what a military regime might do.³⁰

Trying to scare the Americans in this respect, the Greeks participated in the Brioni talks, in early July. The Yugoslav leader, Josip Broz Tito, and Nasser met in the Yugoslav city of Brioni at that time and extended an invitation to the Greek government to attend the talks. Athens replied that Karamanlis was not available, but Averoff could go. Averoff, in his memoirs, noted that the Americans, in particular, stressed that Greek attendance would be exploited by the Soviet bloc and would give the impression that Greece was in the process of leaving NATO and of allying with Belgrade and Cairo. The Greek government replied that, although it was anxious to keep the country in the Atlantic Alliance, Greece also had interests with Yugoslavia and Egypt to take care of. The Greek Foreign Ministry did not expect any results from the discussions (anyway, the Conference had not been prepared in advance for any concrete results to occur). It expected some advantages from the very fact of Greece's attendance. Thus, before going to the Conference, Averoff stated that Greece did not intend to leave NATO. This way, Greece made clear that she wanted to remain in the Alliance, but that the British policy on Cyprus might force her out of it. On 7 July, Averoff arrived at Brioni.³¹

The Greek Foreign Minister stressed to Tito and Nasser, during the talks, that Greece intended to remain in the Alliance. A suggestion, by the Egyptian leader, for the creation of a neutralistic bloc, consisting of Greece, Yugoslavia and the United Arab Republic, was dismissed by the other two statesmen. Notably, Tito was more insistent that such an idea should not be pursued. Tito wanted Greece to remain in the Alliance, as he wanted a link to the west, to balance the Warsaw Pact threat

30. Minute (unsigned) 1 Nov. 1958, KA, reel 2, 871-873; Averoff, volume II, 65; Allen to FO, 11 June 1958, FO 371/136309/131.

31. Averoff, volume II, 66-67; Nicholls (Belgrade) to FO, 7 July 1958, and Lambert to FO, 8 July 1958, FO 371/136232/5.

against him, a threat which was seen as being revived in that year.³²

An opportunity for further expression of Greek views to the US on the Middle East was presented on 12 August, when the US Deputy Under Secretary of State, Robert D. Murphy (who had just visited the Middle East), met Karamanlis and Averoff in Athens. The Greek Foreign Minister explained the Greek effort to resist the policy of the Russian Church in the region. Averoff also floated the idea of placing limitations to Jewish immigration in Israel, as a first step for a solution in the Arab-Israeli dispute. The Greek Ministers claimed that if Israel accepted those of the refugees who wanted to return (who would not be many, the Greeks maintained), a first step would be made. Murphy, on the other hand, revealed the basic gap between the Greek and the US perceptions, by insisting that the developments in Iraq, Lebanon and Jordan were initiated thanks to foreign intervention, 'not directly by the Russians, but indirectly, through the conduit of Nasserism'. Karamanlis and Averoff insisted that the US should approach Nasser and, through his high prestige in the Arab world, approach all the Arab countries. Averoff intensified his effort to convince the Americans about this, stressing that the west appeared to oppose Arab national feelings: 'Because, unfortunately, the Great Powers of the West had pursued a policy of leaders, Kings and Emirs and not a policy of peoples. Thus, the western world had appeared usually committed to the forces of back-tracking, of feudalism and of reaction.' (It must be noted that this strong wording seemed to be used against the British policy both in the Middle East in general as well as in Cyprus in particular.) Finally, Karamanlis and Averoff urged that the west undertake an organised effort to improve the standard of living of the Arabs. The Greek Ministers insisted that poverty led the Arabs to despair and to accept solutions 'coming from anywhere'. As Murphy noted in his memoirs, 'Greece had a very

32. Lambert to FO, 12 July 1958, FO 371/136232/7; Ankara to FO, 30 July 1958, FO 371/136232/8.

practical stake in Egypt, and the Premier did not despair of Nasser'.³³

Yet, only some days after the conversation with Murphy, the British announced a revised version of the Macmillan plan, which was also unfavourable to the Greek case. The British made clear that they would proceed with the implementation of the plan, whatever the Greek reaction, causing alarm in Athens. Greece even made an official threat of withdrawal from the Alliance in September. NATO tried to mediate, but the effort led nowhere. Then, most of the Arab countries did not support the Greek appeal on Cyprus in December, although the UAR did. Yet, the first signs of a possible Greco-Turkish rapprochement came in that UN debate, partly because of the Turkish anxiety for the Middle Eastern crisis. In December, discussions took place between Averoff and the Turkish Foreign Minister, Fatin Rüstü Zorlu, which led to the Cyprus agreements of 1959.³⁴

Although one should not exaggerate its importance (it was only one of many other aspects), it appears that there was a further 'Middle Eastern' dimension in Turkish motives to agree to Cypriot independence. On 27 February 1959, after the signature of the agreements, Zorlu, speaking to the British, referred to Averoff's 'dangerous bids' for support from the UAR, right up to the end. Indeed, on 23 December 1958, Zorlu mentioned to the British Ambassador in Turkey, Sir Bernard Burrows, his worries over new pledges of Averoff in NATO for the development of better relations with Nasser. Burrows noted that Turkey was afraid of a neutralist chain comprising of Egypt, Greece, Yugoslavia, and, of all countries, Italy, which would isolate Turkey from the rest of NATO. As the Ambassador noted two days later, Zorlu told him that 'he (Zorlu) was most anxious to keep Greece out of the Middle East'. Therefore, even if the Greek government failed to impress the US and Britain with her ideas over the Middle East,

33. Record (Karamanlis-Murphy), 12 Aug. 1958, KA, reel 6, pp. 846-853; Robert Murphy, *Diplomat Among Warriors* (London 1964) 507.

34. Vlachos *Deka Khronia*, 216-255.

she, in quite a roundabout way, seems to have succeeded in scaring Turkey over them. These Turkish worries were largely an exaggerated picture of the situation, but do underline the fact that Turkey was alarmed at the prospect of a possible encirclement, after the loss of her Iraqi ally.³⁵

On the other hand, again in December 1958, the Turks passed on to the British information that Averoff had an understanding with Nasser not to allow the establishment of British bases in the island. There is no evidence for such a Greco-Arab agreement. Indeed, such an undertaking would be contrary to all the other evidence available. What is clear is that Greece was reluctant to become involved in a British-Arab war, if the British launched attacks on an Arab state from their Cyprus bases. This was the reason why Greece (and Turkey) did not guarantee the existence of British bases in the 1959 settlement. But this was not the equivalent of a Greek undertaking to the Arabs to prevent the establishment of such bases. The fact that since 1951 Greece had never raised objections to the retention of British bases and the fact that Averoff did not cause any difficulties over such bases point out that the Turkish information was inaccurate.³⁶

It seems that the Greco-Turkish rapprochement caused some concern to the Egyptians and the Yugoslavs, who were afraid that Athens might now harmonise its Middle Eastern policy with the Turks. However, the Greek government assured both Egypt and Yugoslavia that Greek policy would not change. After all, the origins of the Greco-Egyptian rapprochement were not only to be found in the Cyprus question but in the existence of the Greek community in Egypt as well. The interests of the Greeks of Egypt remained a priority. However, the Greek community in Egypt was slowly driven out. By the mid 1960s, there were not more than 30,000 Greeks in the country.³⁷

35. FO minute (Profumo), 27 Feb. 1959, FO 371/144619/18; Burrows to FO, 23 Dec. 1958, London, Public Record Office, Colonial Office Records, (CO) 926/1070/1556; Burrows to FO, 25 Dec. 1958, CO 926/1070/1562.

36. FO minute (Ross), 23 Dec. 1958, CO 926/621/1390.

37. Allen to Selwyn Lloyd, 6 March 1959, FO 371/144530/2; minute (unsigned), 25 April 1959, KA, reel 2, pp. 2314-2318.

V. Conclusions

It is notable that, after March 1956, Greece's Middle Eastern policy appeared distinctly independent from the policy of NATO, to which she belonged. Athens did support the Eisenhower Doctrine, but it repeatedly defied American advice on its Arab policy; in 1956, over the issue of the Suez Conference, in 1957, over Karamanlis's visit to Egypt and the Syrian war-scare and in 1958, when it participated in the Brioni talks. Greece tried to promote her national interests, over Cyprus and the protection of Greeks in the Middle East, and it should be noted that the US usually realised this Greek necessity. It should be remembered that the government simultaneously, resisted strong pressure from many quarters (even, in 1955, by the Centre Opposition) to adopt a policy of 'equal friendship' to the two blocs. Athens made repeatedly clear that NATO membership was indispensable. It also should be noted that the Greek government was not alone in NATO calling for a different approach to Nasser. In January 1959, the Italians expressed to the British views bearing a striking resemblance to Greek ideas, arguing that Nasser was not, after all, a Soviet agent, that he was anxious to develop better ties with the west and that the west's refusal to help him improve the standard of living in his country made him turn to the Soviets. The Italians also put forward the view that he might accept a compromise with Israel (repeating the suggestions about refugees and Jewish emigration, which Athens had passed on to the Americans) and they even remarked that the west had lost valuable time in making a fresh approach to the Egyptian leader.³⁸

Greek policy towards the Arabs, and more particularly towards Egypt, may be summed up as follows. Athens was concerned both at the Soviet advances in the Middle East, and at the development of Arab nationalism, which threatened the community in Egypt. The political reality of Arab nationalism, however, was impossible to overlook. The best way to win it over for the western alliance was to help Arab economic development. The idea that

38. Clarke (Rome) to Selwyn Lloyd, 14 Jan. 1959, FO 371/144524/1.

raising the standard of living in a society was a way to help the development of moderate views was strongly held in the 1950s, not only in Greece, but in the western world in general. It was, indeed, the result of the success of the Marshall Aid programme for Europe in 1948-1952. The same idea was behind the effort of the Karamanlis government to achieve economic development for Greece herself. The Greek view, therefore, that economic development of the Arabs would be the most valuable contribution to stability in the Middle East was a part of a larger Greek view of the international and the political scene. It was also consistent with the prevailing ideas of the time. Indeed, if this economic development of the Arabs came, and Greece became a link between NATO and the Arabs, the Greek community in Egypt would be much better protected.

Certainly, economic development of the Arabs would result in the gradual elimination of the position of the Greek community in Egypt, if only because the Egyptians themselves slowly acquired the skills to replace foreigners in trade and enterprises. However, the position of this community was untenable anyway: if economic development of the Arabs did not come, the mixture of nationalism and poverty would make a prosperous alien group of people in Egypt an obvious target, if only because of its prosperity; if economic development came, the prospects of the community holding on for a considerable time would be brighter. Its privileges would not have lasted anyway, after the development of Arab nationalism and the priority of Athens was to avoid an *immediate* ejection of the community from Egypt. The 1956 invasion of Egypt, however, increasing Nasser's distrust for the west, accelerated the process against the members of the community. The Greek government was alarmed at the prospect of a mass exodus from Egypt, since Greece herself was heavily populated already and without the economic potential to absorb the community immediately (at the same period the immigration to western Europe had started). Karamanlis's visit to Egypt in 1957 did give to the Greeks of Egypt a more privileged position than other foreigners, but it was simply a damage-limitation exercise. The

damage of Greek interests from the 'Egyptianisation' laws, indeed, was a part of a general readjustment of forces, political and economic, in the Middle East, and the Greek government had no control over the process.

To be sure, the 'Egyptianisation' process did not damage the Greek community alone; the consequences for Egypt were not so beneficial. Yet, one has to remember what the state of mind was in Cairo in that period to realise the magnitude of the forces which had been unleashed in the region. A remarkable commentary on the policies of redressing the balances in the country was offered by Robert Stephens: 'Some "Egyptianisation" of business was probably an inevitable part of the process of social and political change in Egypt. But by rushing the pace in the post-Suez mood of mixed anger, pride and fear, Nasser inflicted unnecessary hardship and Egypt lost, through the combination of "Egyptianisation" and the expulsions, both invaluable economic and technical know-how and some of the most liberal and intelligent members of her society'.³⁹

In the chaos of the Middle Eastern crises of that period and in the face of the Cyprus situation, the realisation of the Greek aims was even more difficult. Greece's desire to become the link between NATO and the Arabs was not realised to the extent Athens wanted, largely because of the turbulence of those years, which repeatedly divided the Americans and Nasser. As far as the connection between Greece's Middle Eastern policy and Cyprus is concerned, one should distinguish between two levels: the one regarding the Greek aims on the future status of the island; the other regarding Greece's effort to get a favourable UN Resolution. This UN Resolution itself would not have brought a favourable Cyprus settlement, but it would have strengthened Athens's position in any negotiations on the island's future. It was on the second level that Greece tried to make overtures to the Arabs: the aim was to secure their votes at the UN. Until the

39. Stephens, 246.

December 1957 debate, she achieved this aim, despite the pressures that British and Turks exercised to the Arab states not to identify themselves with the Greek case. In December 1958, only the UAR came to Greece's assistance, but it must be remembered that in that debate other factors were also at work: the communal strife in the island and the insistence of the British to implement the Macmillan plan; the failure of the NATO mediation; the intensification of international tensions which attracted the attention of the UN members away from the Cyprus situation; and the overt American opposition to the Greek draft Resolution, something which had happened for the first time. Still, this picture underlines the pressures to which the country was subjected in the pursuit of Enosis. If these pressures are combined with the difficulties in regard to the position of the Greeks of Egypt, it may be seen that the Greek diplomacy was caught in a process which it could neither ignore nor control.

Athens

In the margins of Byzantium? Some icons in Michael Psellos

ANTHONY CUTLER AND ROBERT BROWNING

In the face of a supposed dearth of recorded responses to icons, historians of Byzantine art commonly infer these either from characteristics that they suppose to inhere in works of art themselves, or transfer to the personal and practical realm such theoretical attitudes as are proclaimed in the proceedings of church councils and similar documents. These methods of argumentation give rise to assumptions that (i) aesthetic reactions to images were unimportant or at least subordinate to attitudes born of piety, and (ii) artists used older works as models and the value of their artefacts was understood to be directly proportional to the fidelity of their copies to the 'prototype'.¹ Views of this sort can indeed be supported by texts that set out a variety of orthodox positions ranging from bodies of legal opinion to anecdotal accounts of devotion to icons. But to suppose that such readings represent immutable standards is to take part of the picture for the whole. The study of what seem at first sight to be aberrant attitudes can lend a new perspective on behaviour that is often treated as normative. Artists' 'deviations', and highly emotive and even criminal reactions to their work, are still marginal to our perceptions of Byzantium formed by texts that present one or another official position, even while we are aware that styles of painting (as of writing) varied from one individual to another and that private passions and crimes flourished in this society as in any other.

1. For an orthodox statement of this position by Psellos, see P. Gautier, 'Quelques lettres de Psellos inédites où déjà editées', *REB* 44 (1986) 160.58. This article was written before the appearance of Gautier's 'Un discours inédit de Michel Psellos sur la Crucifixion', *REB* 49 (1991) 5-66, which discourse, Gautier suggested, was based upon an actual picture, even while it was written in his study.

Three passages (nos. 4-6 below) in the private correspondence of Michael Psellos indicate the historical existence of such alternative attitudes. But before turning to these it may be helpful to recognize ways in which his views hew more closely to attitudes normally regarded as representative of the culture to which he belonged.

1. A theoretical defence of icons²

“Ὡσπερ εἶ τι δ’ ἂν πρὸς σὲ ὑπὲρ σοῦ φθεγξαίμην, συνέσεως καὶ εὐφυΐας ἔμψυχον ἄγαλμα, ἔλαττόν ἐστι τῆς ἐμφύτου μοι πρὸς σὲ διαθέσεως κἀνταῦθα μόνον ἡ γλῶττα τῆς γνώμης ἀπολιμπάνεται, οὕτω δὲ καὶ τῆς σῆς εἰκόνας. λεγέσθω γὰρ οὕτως, εἰ βούλει· εἰ δὲ τὸ ἀληθὲς ἀκούειν ἐθέλεις τοῦ πρώτου καὶ ἀκριβοῦς παραδείγματος, τὸ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις μέτρον μᾶλλον ὑστέρησεν ἢ ὅσον ἐστίν, ὃ λέγεται. τὸ γάρ τοι μέτρον, αὐτὸ τοῦτο ὅπερ ἐστὶ, κανὼν, πρὸς ὃ παραμεμέτρηται, λέγεται. ἐνταῦθα δὲ τοσοῦτου δεῖν αὐτὸ ἡγῆμαι ὥστε τυχεῖν τοῦ ὀνόματος, ὁπόσου ἡτύχηκεν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ εἰκὼν οὐδὲν τοῦ παραδείγματος διενήνοχεν, ὥς γέ μοι δοκεῖ. ἔγωγ’ οὖν καὶ ὥς σώματος πολλάκις ἠψάμην τοῦ χρώματος· καὶ μοι ἡ χεὶρ οὐκ ἐψεύσατο, ἀλλὰ τῇ δόξῃ συνηκολούθησεν. οὕτως ἡ βᾶσις, οὕτως ἡ τάσις, οὕτω τὸ σχῆμα τῆς κεφαλῆς, οὕτω τοῦ τραύματος ὁ ἰχώρ καὶ ἡ ζῶσα τοῦ προσώπου νέκρωσις καὶ ὁ ἔμψυχος θάνατος. ὃ ἡ εἰκὼν τὴν φύσιν ἠρνήσατο; πῶς δ’ ἂν τὸ μέτρον συσχηματισθεῖ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ καὶ συναποθάνοι ἡ λέξις τῷ λόγῳ νεκρῷ; πῶς δ’ ἂν ὁ νοῦς τὴν ἐκπνοὴν μιμήσαιο τῆς ψυχῆς; ἀπαξ δὲ καινοτομηθέντος τοῦ πράγματος πῶς τὸ πολλάκις γινόμενον ἔσται ἐπιτυχές; εἰ μὲν γὰρ τέχνης δύναμις ἡ εἰκὼν, εἰ χρωμάτων κράσεις, τάχ’ ἂν καὶ ἡ τοῦ μέτρου βᾶσις ἀπείρηκε πρὸς τὴν βᾶσανον· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ πᾶν ἐκμαγεῖόν ἐστι τῆς ἀληθοῦς φύσεως, τίνι τρόπῳ ὁ λόγος τὸ ὑπὲρ φύσιν χαρακτηρίσειεν; ἔπειτα ἐκθαμβος εὐθὺς ὁ νοῦς γινόμενος καὶ κατὰ τὴν πρώτῃν ἐπιβολὴν ἐκπλαγεὶς ὥσπερ οἱ φοιβόληπτοι ἱλίσσουσι καὶ σκοτοδίνης καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τὴν λόγον πληροῖ.

Just as whatever I might say to you about yourself, oh living image of wisdom and natural goodness, falls short of my inborn disposition towards you, and in this alone my tongue lags behind my mind, so too it falls short of your icon. Let me put it this way, if you like. But if you wish to hear the truth about the first exact model, then the measure of my words falls short of the greatness of that which is spoken of. For the (true) measure, that which a thing really is, is called the standard with which a thing is compared. In this case I think that it is so far short of the title which it enjoys. For the image

2. Psellos, *Scripta minora*, ed. E. Kurtz and F. Drexler, II (Milan 1941), *Ep.* 211, 247.10-248.12.

in no way differs from its model, as it seems to me at any rate. So I have often touched the paint, as I would the body. And my hand was not deceived, but agreed with my belief. Such was the foundation (?), such the intensity (?), such the form of the head, such the blood from the wound, the living mortification of the flesh and the animate death. What words could resemble the model, in accordance with which the icon refuted nature? How could its measure conform to the reality, and the language share in the death of the dying Word? How could the mind imitate the expiry of the soul? Once innovation has been made in the matter, how can what has repeatedly happened be successful? For if the icon is a function (product) of art, a mingling of colours, perhaps the very foundation of its measure fails the test. And if the whole thing is an offset from the true nature (of the subject of the icon), how is language to characterize that which is above nature? Then the mind becomes at once boggled and is driven crazy at its very first approach, and, like those possessed by Phoebus, it fills language, which is its servant, with dizziness and vertigo. And like a chariot horse, language throws its driver, the mind, and rushes off into all kinds of deviations and circumvolutions. And the most difficult obstacle is that the return journey is worse than the deviation. For when I wish to fix my mind firmly on the original, I get confused, like sea-sick voyagers who lean towards the waves.

This first example is the beginning of a letter to an unknown *sakellarios*; whether the recipient was of the ecclesiastical or administrative variety we have no way of knowing. Psellos could turn a compliment as well as any and opens with a topos comparing the poverty of his words to the merits of his addressee, the 'living image of wisdom and natural goodness'. This is, however, no more than a launching pad for reflections on the relationship between an icon and its prototype. An image, Psellos says, 'differs in no way from its model' — a conventional position which he proceeds to test, nonetheless, in an unusual way. Referring to an icon of the Crucifixion (or possibly the deposed Christ) he says that he has 'often touched the paint, as I would the body'. The tactile experiment confirms his cognitive posture: 'my hand was not deceived, but agreed with my belief'. The form of the head and the blood from the side show that the image is 'the living mortification of flesh and the animate death'. The power of the icon to simulate its model is thus mightier than the representational capacity of words. But this purely formal excuse for his prose again yields to what is probably quite genuine amazement at the way the image has 'refuted nature'.

A series of rhetorical questions articulate this wonderment: ‘How could its measure conform to reality and language share in the death of the dying Word, how could the mind imitate the expiry of the soul?’ In post-Iconoclastic literature there would appear to be no more developed a theoretical consideration of image-making. But it is no mere apologia. Psellos worries about the traditional problem of innovation — if this is introduced by the artist, how can its replications be successful? ‘For if the icon is a function of art, a mingling of colours, perhaps the very foundation of its measure fails the test?’ Whether he is talking about art as a language or the difficulties of talking about images of the supernatural (a distinction not entirely clear in the text), discourse is problematical. Despite the classical allusions, the predicament he describes is a modern one and merits both the translation *in extenso* above and an epitome: the seductive power of the icon is such that it attracts mightily by virtue of its capacity to reproduce the prototype, but in this very success runs the risk of distracting us from that which is represented.

2. The Archangel Michael venerates an icon³

Τοῦτο γοῦν ἐγὼ τὸ πῦρ οὐκ οἶμαι σωματικόν, εἰ καὶ οὕτω τοῖς πολλοῖς τότε ἑωρᾶτο καὶ ἐνομίζετο, ἀλλ’ ὃ γε θεῖος ἀρχάγγελος ἐξ αὐλοῦ τὴν οὐσίαν πυρὸς ἐσχηκὼς ἐπειδὴ τότε, δόξαν αὐτῷ, τῷ τῆς θεομήτορος ἀπαστράψαι ναῷ, ἡ νοητὴ ἀστραπὴ αἰσθητὴ φλόγῳσι: τοῖς βλέπουσιν ἐφαντάζετο· ἡ γὰρ ἔρωτα τοῦ θεοῦ εἰληφὼς περιβόλου ἐνταῦθα εἶναι τε καὶ θαυματοργεῖν εἴλετο ἢ τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς θεομήτορος σεβασθεὶς ὑποστρατηγεῖν αὐτῇ ὡς βασιλίδι προέκρινεν· εἰ δέ γε ὃ ἀληθὲς λόγος οὐ πάνυ δῆλος ἡμῖν, ἔστω τοῦτο ταῖς ἄνω δέλτοις πεφυλαγμένον καὶ ὁ λόγος ἐχέσθω τῶν ἐφεξῆς. ἀγγέλλεται τὸ θαῦμα τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ ὃς ἀκούσας τὴν πρώτην μὲν ἔφριξεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ συνήθρει τῷ νῷ καὶ συνελάμβανε τὸ γινόμενον, θεῖαν ἐπιστασίαν ἡγεῖται τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ ἀνακινεῖται πρὸς μείζονα. καὶ ὥσπερ ἐπὶ θεμελίῳ τῷ θείῳ σχήματι, εἰπεῖν δὲ καὶ ἀγγελωνύμῳ, ἐπικοσμεῖ μὲν καὶ τῇ θεομήτορι τὸν νεών, οἰκοδομεῖ δὲ καὶ τῷ ἀρχαγγέλῳ οἶκον εὐκτήριον.

3. *ibid.*, I (Milan 1936), 126.14-127.1.

I do not think that this fire was corporeal, even though it was so perceived and conceived by most people. Rather, when on this occasion the holy archangel decided to blaze forth in the church of the Mother of God, the intelligible lightning was manifested to those who saw it as sensible flame. For either from love for the sacred precinct he chose to be and to work his miracles here, or out of reverence for the icon of the Mother of God he elected to serve as deputy commander to her as empress. If the true reason is not quite clear to us, let it remain guarded in the heavenly archives, and let our narrative concern itself with what followed. The miracle was reported to the emperor, who when he heard it was filled with terror, but when he thought it over and grasped what had happened, decided that it was a matter of a divine command, and was roused to greater efforts. And on the foundation of the divine, or let us say angelic, design, he adorned the church in honour of the Mother of God, and built a chapel in it for the archangel too.

In a long treatise on the miracles of St. Michael, Psellos tells of a monk who recognizes the physical characteristics of the archangel from their appearance in an icon.⁴ This commonplace of hagiographical and other narratives follows, however, a greater wonder that is said to have occurred when the emperor Herakleios sought to transfer the True Cross from Jerusalem to Constantinople: a miraculous fire filled and surrounded the church where the relic was kept. Reflecting on this at an interval of more than four hundred years, Psellos, as often, differentiates himself from ordinary people who in this case saw the fire as ‘corporeal’, as ‘sensible flame’. For him it was ‘intelligible lightning’ caused by Michael when he ‘decided to blaze forth in the church of the Mother of God’. As to an explanation for the archangel’s display, Psellos suggests that it was ‘either love for the sacred precinct [that] he chose to be and to work his miracles here or, out of reverence for the icon of the Mother of God, he elected to serve as deputy commander to her as empress’. The foundation and decoration of churches following a vision is a familiar enough phenomenon in Byzantine literature. But there seems to be no other example in which a member of the heavenly host is described as paying his respects to an image.

4. *ibid.*, I, 128.23-27.

3. Advice from an icon⁵

Εἰ βούλει πᾶσαν ἐν ταύτῳ συλλέξασθαι ἀρετὴν καὶ ἀφορμὴν τῆς πρὸς τὰ κρεῖττω ἀναγωγῆς, τῇ θεοτόκῳ μάλιστα πρόσκεισο καὶ ταύτης μὴ τὰς εἰκόνας μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἀφανεῖς σέβου σκιάς, ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ ποιεῖν εἰώθας. εἰ δέ που χειρὸς ἀνθρωπίνης χωρὶς ἐμπεφάνισται καὶ οἶονεῖ γέγραπται, ἐκεῖσε ταύτην οἶου ἀρρήτως ἐφεστάναι καὶ ἀθεάτως, ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν τῆς βασιλίδος πόλεως μονῇ ὥπται τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐπέκεινα θαύματος, ἦν δὴ καὶ τῆς Ἀχειροποιήτου ἐντεῦθεν κατονομάζουσι. δόγματα δὲ φιλοθείας, φιλοσοφωτάτη ψυχῇ, καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὴν μητέρα τοῦ θεοῦ διαθέσεως οὐ τὸ ταῖς εἰκόσι προσιέναι οὐδὲ τὸ πολλάκις καταπτύξασθαι τὸ ὁμοίωμα, ἀλλὰ τί ποτε; τὸ μὲν πρῶτον καὶ μέγιστον ἑαυτοὺς ἀπεικονίσαι πρὸς τὴν ἐν τῷ κρεῖττονι ἀρετῇ, εἶτα καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ ἀντέχεσθαι ἐπιμελῶς, ἐν ᾧ τὸ θεῖον τετίμηται, ἢ αὐτὸν καλλύνοντας ἢ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἀντέχεσθαι κτημάτων. ὅπερ δὴ σε νῦν ἡ ἀχειροποίητος θεοτόκος εἰσπράττεται δι' ἐμοῦ μεσίτου.

If you wish to gather together in one place all excellence and means of rising to higher things, devote yourself above all to the Mother of God, and revere not only her icons, but also her invisible shadows, as indeed you are wont to do. And if she has been made manifest and as it were painted without human hand, deem that she stands before you ineffably and invisibly, as she has been seen by all beyond marvel in the monastery before the walls of the imperial city, which for that reason they call the monastery of the image not fashioned by hand. Evidence of the love of God, most philosophical soul, and of attachment to the Mother of God, lies not in approaching icons and frequently embracing her likeness, but in what? First and foremost in fashioning ourselves after the likeness of the excellence of the higher power, and next in caring attentively for the church in which the divinity is honoured, either adorning it or taking care of the possessions belonging to it. This is what the Virgin Unfashioned by Human Hand is now claiming from you through me as an intermediary.

No different from any other members of his society, Psellos believed that an icon was evidence of a saint's real presence. The figure depicted could thus communicate, a position that Psellos takes in this letter to a governor of the Aegean theme concerning the Virgin 'not fashioned by (human) hand' in the monastery of that name 'before the walls of the imperial city'.⁶ Whether

5. *Ep.* 124, *ibid.*, II, 148.6-23.

6. More often called the monastery of the Abramites, it stood near the Golden Gate. See R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin*. 3. *Les églises et les monastères* (Paris 1969) 165 no.8, who was apparently unaware of this reference in Psellos.

or not he credited the origin of this sort of image — he speaks of her as ‘as it were painted without human hand’ — he assures his correspondent that she is now ‘making a claim from you through me as an intermediary’: the message in question is the gist of the first half of Psellos’ letter. He relays her advice to ‘revere not only her icons but also her invisible shadows’, for ‘evidence of the love of God . . . lies not only in approaching icons and frequently embracing her likeness’. Rather, we should ‘first fashion ourselves after the likeness of the higher power’ and then ‘care attentively for the church in which the divinity is honoured, either adorning it or taking care of the possessions belonging to it’. By means of a rather tortuous literary device Psellos thus imparts an ethical lesson, reinforcing aspects of personal and practical behaviour held to be central to the proper functioning of Byzantine society.

4. Aesthetic evaluation as a basis for taste⁷

Εἰκόνων ἐγὼ θεατὴς ἀκριβέστατος, ἀλλὰ με μία κάλλει ἀφάτῳ ἐκπλήξασα καὶ οἷον ἀστραπῆς βολὴ τὰς αἰσθήσεις πηρώσασα ἀφείλετό μου τὴν περὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα δύναμιν τε καὶ σύνεσιν. εἶχε δὲ παράδειγμα αὕτη τὴν θεομήτορα καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνην ἐγέγραπτο. ἀλλ’ εἰ μὲν ἐμφορῆς ἐκείνῳ τῷ ὑπερφυεῖ καθειστέκει ἀγάλματι, οὐ πάνυ τι οἶδα ὅτι δὲ συγκραθέντα τὰ χρώματα σαρκὸς φύσιν ἀπεμιμήσαντο, τοῦτο καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐπίσταμαι· τὸ γὰρ εἶδος ἄληπτόν μοι καὶ τότε τῇ ὄψει καὶ νῦν τῇ ἐννοίᾳ καθίσταται.

I am a most fastidious viewer of icons; but one astonished me by its indescribable beauty, paralysing my senses like a thunderbolt, and bereft me of my power of judgement in the matter. Its subject was the Mother of God, and it was dedicated to her.

In this letter, Psellos claims to be a ‘most fastidious viewer of icons’. The adjective, and especially its use in the superlative form, suggest that discrimination among works of art was habitual at least in his circle. That he singles out one for praise shows that comparisons among such images were practiced: not all icons, even of the Mother of God, were ‘equal’. Yet, at least overtly,

7. Kurtz-Drexler, *Ep.* 194, II, 220.19-27.

the grounds on which he distinguishes it have nothing to do with the spectator's piety or the image's realism. Unless we regard his words as mere hyperbole, that which separates this picture from iconographically similar examples is couched in purely aesthetic terms. Its 'indescribable beauty', he claims, jars his senses like a bolt of lightning and strips him of the very 'power of judgement' that in fact he is exercising here.

5. Antisocial behaviour and the value of icons⁸

Οὐδὲ εἰκόνας; καὶ διὰ τί, ὁ θειότατος τῷ ὄντι δεσπότης μου; ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ἱεροσυλῶ ταύτας νῆ τὴν ἱεράν σου ψυχὴν' καὶ κέκλοφά γε πολλὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀδύτων καὶ ὑπαγκαλισάμενος τότε μὲν διέλαθον, ὕστερον δὲ ὑποπτευθεὶς αὐτίκα ἀπωμοσάμην. προστέτηκα δὲ μᾶλλον ταῖς ἀμυδραῖς ταύταις γραφαῖς, ὅτι τὴν τέχνην τοῦ γραφέως ἐξεικονίζουσι. καὶ μοι συνήκται τοιαῦτα σανίδια, πλείω ἄχρυσά καὶ ἀνάργυρα, ὥσπερ ἔνιοι τῶν νέων συγκλητικῶν ἄσταυροί τε καὶ ἄβλαττοι, ἐγὼ δὲ διδοὺς οὐκ ἄλγῶ.

Not even icons? Why, my most sacred Lord? I actually robbed them from churches. On your holy soul, I have stolen many from sanctuaries, tucked them under my arm, and made off unnoticed. Later on, when I came under suspicion, I at once denied it on oath. I am rather attached to these faint pictures, because they exemplify the art of the painter. I have a collection of such boards, mostly without gold or silver, like some of the new senators, who have neither crosses nor silk robes. I feel no pain when I give them away.

Whether or not it was such responses that moved him to take icons that he admired into his own possession, Psellos confesses in this letter that he has stolen 'many of them' from churches. His technique was simplicity itself. He concealed them minimally and walked out of the sanctuary with them. Falling under suspicion, he compounded the felony by denying such thefts 'under oath'. We know of no similar confession in Byzantine literature. The desire to appropriate such objects is implicitly presented as sufficient justification for the theft of images. 'I am rather attached to these faint pictures' — presumably in contrast to works in mosaic, intarsia or metal — 'because they exemplify the art of the painter'. As in no. 4 above, an element of connoisseurship

8. *ibid.*, II, no.129. For another translation and the social circumstances, see N. Oikonomidès, 'The Holy Icon as Asset', *DOP* 45 (1991) 36.

is involved, yet here it is supported by considerations of relative value. The fact that the pictures are ‘mostly without gold or silver’,⁹ he implies, tends to exculpate him; indeed, he admits to having ‘a collection of such boards’. Since they lack either great economic or aesthetic worth, he suffers little when he parts with them.

6. On the production and relative merit of icons¹⁰

καὶ γραφικὴ δὲ χεὶρ δύο πρὸς ἀρχετυπίαν εἰκόνας διαμορφοῦσα, τὴν μὲν, πρὸς τὸ παράδειγμα ἀπεικόνισε, τῇ δέ, ἀνόμοιον μετέβαλε τὴν μορφήν· οὕτω καὶ ψυχὴ, καὶ φύσις, καὶ σῶμα, οὐ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἐπίσης ἰδέαν ἀρκοῦσιν.

And one of them (sc. children born from the same womb) may be clever and creative while the other is from the outset filled with forgetfulness and stupidity. A painter’s hand too, delineating two icons from the same original, may make one resemble the model, and give the other a dissimilar form.

The roots of Psellos’ various attitudes toward images may perhaps reside in his account of how they come into being. As we have seen, in his eyes icons vary in both aesthetic and economic value, factors which affect the responses that they evoke both in himself and in others. In this letter to a certain Xeros, a judge of the Thrakesion theme,¹¹ he points out that a painter ‘may

9. Cf. a case of 1365 in which a priest was condemned for stealing a silver *phengeion* (halo) from an icon of the Theotokos (F. Miklosich and J. Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana* I [Vienna 1860] 475.9-10). Psellos’ passage suggests that icons exposed in churches were by no means always decorated with the precious-metal frames so often itemized in lists of church furnishings; for major examples of the genre, see A. Cutler, in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (New York 1991) (hereinafter cited as *ODB*) II, 1005, s.v. Inventory. That the unadorned pictures taken by Psellos were small follows from the way in which he concealed them.

10. K.N. Sathas, *Mesaionike bibliotheke* V (Paris 1876, reprint Athens 1972) 282 no.51. On this letter, see Ja. Ľjubarskij, *Michail Psell. Ličnosti i tvorčestvo* (Moscow 1978) 105.

11. Mid-11th-century judges by this name include Basil Xeros, on whom see E. Follieri in *ZRV* 8/2, 142; and John Xeros mentioned in the *Actes de Saint-Pantéléémon*, edd. P. Lemerle, G. Dagron and S. Ćirković (Paris 1982) no.5 (of 1057), with commentary on p.53. Our thanks to A. Kazhdan for these and other references; cf. his entry in *ODB* III, 2210, s.v. Xeros.

delineate two icons from the same original'. The best-known instance of this practice is also of the eleventh century — the copies made by Pantoleon for Antony, later *hegoumenos* of the Panagiotou monastery.¹² But here Psellos goes a good deal further. The painter may 'make one resemble the model, and give the other a dissimilar form'. By comparing such divergent results to two children born from the same womb, Psellos attributes to his hypothetical pictures qualities of animation and innovation. Even though one derives directly from the model, it is regarded as 'clever and creative'. The characteristics of the other, which does not share in this degree of likeness, are ascribed to 'forgetfulness and stupidity'. Psellos' anthropomorphic analogy is striking in its own right. But no less noteworthy is the fact that the relative merit of the second icon is assessed. On this point the text stands in marked contrast to a major source for Byzantine reactions to works of art — the ekphrasis tradition characterized, it has been said, by a 'total lack of adverse criticism'.¹³ Above all, the passage clearly recognizes that a variety of artistic results may be produced by a single craftsman responding to a single exemplar. The implication of this for connoisseurs who insist upon an all-too-modern notion of identity before attributing two images to the same hand hardly needs stressing.

But the significance of Psellos' observations transcends the lessons that they contain for art historians. They suggest an ideological stance vis-à-vis sacred objects that is at once closer to modern and Western medieval positions than has formerly been supposed. The illusion that 'people of the Middle Ages esteemed art only as it was useful, devotional, and directly involved with spiritual conceptions in accord with the traditional teachings of the church' was forever laid to rest by Meyer Schapiro who demonstrated the existence of a conscious taste for the quality of workmanship in Western medieval creations at the very time

12. *Vitae duae antiquae Sancti Athanasii Athonitae*, ed. J. Noret (Turnhout 1982) A par. 254.3-36, B par. 78.24-33.

13. C. Mango, *The art of the Byzantine Empire 312-1453. Sources and documents* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J. 1972, reprint Toronto 1986) xv.

Psellos was alive.¹⁴ It is no less important to appreciate that this approach is not antithetical but complementary to the belief that icons are a means of access to the divine and powerful instruments in the regulation of human affairs, to cite only the sentiments of Anna Komnene.¹⁵ As the advice purveyed in excerpt no. 3, above, makes clear, Psellos was no less concerned with the ethical role that art could play. The difference between the passages that we have noticed and other Byzantine texts that touch upon works of art is that Psellos — and perhaps only Psellos — gave voice both to an understanding of the multiplicity of roles that such works could play and the variety of possible responses to them.

We do not need to assume that his aesthetic or psychological accounts of images were typical of Byzantine attitudes, even those of eleventh-century intellectuals, in order to recognize the importance of these views. They are significant because they existed and they exist because one man, albeit unusually, saw fit to utter them. However unrepresentative of his culture they may be, they are a part of the historical record that has remained unrecognized. On the other hand, it is self-evident that these opinions were neither deliberately revolutionary nor set down only for their author's private purposes. His observations are for the most part made in passing — asides in discourses devoted to other matters. They were, moreover, communicated to others and, to the extent that we can measure, to persons of some standing in Byzantine society. No contemporary evidence exists that his views on icons were regarded as outlandish or that, like Leo of Chalcedon,¹⁶ he got into trouble for them. There is an obvious historiographical contradiction between the supposition that such views set him in the margins of society and the major role that

14. 'On the Aesthetic Attitude in Romanesque Art', reprinted in M. Schapiro, *Romanesque Art* (New York 1977) 1-27.

15. *Aléxiade*, 2, ed. B. Leib (Paris 1967) 34.8-10. Anna here attributes Psellos' advancement to the prayers and tears of his mother before an icon of the Theotokos.

16. P. Stephanou, 'La doctrine de Léon de Chalcédoine et de ses adversaires sur les images', *OCP* 12 (1946) 177-99.

Psellos plays in our understanding of behaviour and beliefs in eleventh-century Constantinople. It may be that the ideas we have singled out should be moved closer to the centre of our thinking about Byzantium.

Ottoman Merchants in Constantinople During the First Half of the Fifteenth Century*

NEVRA NECİPOĞLU

Despite growing interest among both Byzantinists and Ottoman scholars in the respective long-distance commercial ventures of Byzantine Greek and Ottoman Muslim merchants, studies focusing on the trade relations between these two groups have not yet been undertaken.¹ This article, which examines some sources that document the presence and economic activities of Ottoman Turks in Constantinople during the first half of the fifteenth century, is intended to serve as a contribution to this neglected field of study. Moreover, by means of an examination of commercial relations, the article aims to shed further light on the daily, informal contacts between the Byzantines and the Ottomans which remains a relatively unexplored aspect of Byzantine-Ottoman relations.

We know that during the last decade of the fourteenth century a Turkish quarter that contained a mosque had been established

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1. For the international activities of Byzantine merchants, see N. Oikonomidès, *Hommes d'affaires grecs et latins à Constantinople (XIIIe-XVe siècles)* (Montreal-Paris 1979); A.E. Laiou-Thomadakis, 'The Byzantine Economy in the Mediterranean Trade System, Thirteenth-Fifteenth Centuries', *DOP* 34-35 (1982) 177-222; *eadem*, 'The Greek Merchant of the Palaeologan Period: A Collective Portrait', *Πρακτικά τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν* 57 (1982) 96-132. For the international activities of Ottoman merchants, see H. İnalcık, 'Capital Formation in the Ottoman Empire', *The Journal of Economic History* 19 (1960) 113 (n.44), 138; C. Kafadar, 'A Death in Venice (1575): Anatolian Muslim Merchants Trading in the Serenissima', in *Raiyyet Rûsûmu. Essays presented to Halil İnalcık*, in *Journal of Turkish Studies* 10 (1986) 191-218.

within Constantinople at the request of Sultan Bayezid I. A number of Ottoman merchants were active in Constantinople at that time, and the Byzantine Emperor had accepted the Sultan's additional demand for the installation of a Muslim judge (*kadı*) inside the city to settle their commercial disputes.² These efforts of the Ottoman ruler to protect the rights of his subjects who were trading in Constantinople indicate that already at the end of the fourteenth century a considerable number of Ottoman merchants were engaged in commercial relations with Byzantium.

However, following the Ottoman defeat at the battle of Ankara in 1402, the Byzantine Emperor expelled all the inhabitants of the Turkish quarter and ordered the destruction of their mosque.³ There is no documented evidence about the presence of a *kadı* in Constantinople thereafter until 1432, the year the

2. Âşıkpaşazâde, *Tevârîh-i Al-i Osmân*, in N. Atsız, ed., *Osmanlı Tarihleri*, I (İstanbul 1949) 137; *Ducæ Historia turcobyzantina (1341-1462)*, ed. V. Grecu (Bucharest 1958), XIII. 5 (77); *Annales ecclesiastici*, eds. O. Raynaldus and C. Baronius, 26 (Barri-Ducis, 1878) 540, no. 7. Despite chronological variances, these sources offer similar information. Âşıkpaşazâde, who gives the most detailed account, writes that after the Ottoman victory at Nikopolis (1396), Bayezid first demanded the surrender of Constantinople, but then made peace when the Byzantine government accepted the construction of a mosque ('*mahalle mescidi*') and the installation of a *kadı* inside the city, in addition to the payment of an annual tribute of 10,000 gold pieces ('*filôri*'). Following this agreement, Bayezid had the inhabitants of the fortresses of *Göynük* and *Darakçı Yenicesi* settled in Constantinople within the special quarter assigned to the Ottomans. On the other hand, the entry in the *Annales ecclesiastici* reports under the year 1393 Bayezid's demand for a Turkish quarter, a mosque, and an annual tribute of 10,000 gold pieces. Doukas reports only Bayezid's demand for the installation of a *kadı*, dating this event to 1391. Genoese expense accounts for Pera seem to confirm Doukas' dating: see N. Iorga, *Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des Croisades au XV^e siècle*, I (Paris 1899) 47 (16 Oct. 1391), 52 (17 Oct. 1391); L.T. Belgrano, 'Prima serie di documenti riguardanti la colonia di Pera', *ASLSP* 13 (1877), no. 38 (24 May 1392), 171-172: ' . . . pro zucharo pro recipiendo Cadi turchorum in Palacio'. Another Genoese document from Pera mentions transportation costs for a *kadı* as early as 28 October 1390 [Iorga, *Notes et extraits*, I, 43: ' . . . pro expensis factis in barch[a] pro cadi.']. But this may have been an earlier arrangement permitting occasional visits of an Ottoman *kadı* rather than the permanent residence of one inside the Byzantine capital. See also D. Cantemir, *History of the Growth and Decay of the Othman Empire*, trans. N. Tindal (London 1734-35) 52-53, where Âşıkpaşazâde's account is repeated.

3. Âşıkpaşazâde, ed. Atsız, 137.

Burgundian traveler Bertrandon de la Broquière visited the city and noted the existence of a Muslim judicial authority there to whom Turkish traders went for litigation.⁴ But we know from some other sources that there were Turks who either resided in or visited the Byzantine capital during the intervening period. Two eye-witnesses reported in 1416 that Turks (*Ἀγαρηνοί, Turci*) entered the city in large numbers, one adding that some were there only in transit while some were actual inhabitants.⁵ Two years later, Emperor Manuel II complained to the Senate of Venice that Venetian merchants were collaborating, among others, with Turkish merchants who helped the Venetians evade the customs duties (*commercium*) they were obliged to pay to the Byzantine state.⁶ The Emperor curiously referred to these Turkish merchants as 'our Turks' which could either mean that they were people who lived in Constantinople, or alternatively they may have been Turks who had continued to live in places such as Thessaloniki, Kalamaria, and the coastal cities of Thrace which the Ottomans had restored to Byzantium by treaty after the battle of Ankara,⁷ wherefore they would have been considered Byzantine subjects. As far as Turkish merchants subject to the Ottoman state are concerned, however, they seem to have conducted their commercial exchanges with Byzantine traders not in Constantinople during the period in question, but in the Ottoman port of Scutari on the opposite shore. The Russian pilgrim Zosima, who visited the Byzantine capital twice between

4. *Le Voyage d'Outremer de Bertrandon de la Broquière*, ed. Ch. Schefer (Paris 1892; repr. 1972) 165.

5. Statement by the metropolitan of Medea to the Patriarch Euthymios (1410-1416) reported by Syropoulos, in *Les 'Mémoires' du Grand Ecclésiarque de l'Église de Constantinople Sylvestre Syropoulos sur le concile de Florence (1438-1439)*, ed. and trans. V. Laurent (Paris 1971) 102; and observation by John of Ragusa, in E. Cecconi, *Studi storici sul concilio di Firenze*, 1 (Florence 1869) dxi.

6. J. Chrysostomides, 'Venetian Commercial Privileges Under the Palaeologi', *Studi Veneziani* 12 (1970) doc. 19, (354-355); Iorga, *Notes et extraits*, 1, 281-282; F. Thiriet, *Régestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Roumanie*, II (Paris-The Hague 1959) no. 1705.

7. G.T. Dennis, 'The Byzantine-Turkish Treaty of 1403', *OCP* 33 (1967) 78.

late 1419 and 1422, wrote that Greeks and Latins from Constantinople (and Pera) went across the straits to Scutari in order to trade with the Turks.⁸ Zosima's testimony, thus, suggests that Ottoman subjects did not have free access to Constantinople or Pera for trading purposes, being restrained either by their own authorities, or by Byzantine officials, or by both.

Consequently, if we leave aside the earlier occasional references to Turkish visitors and residents of Constantinople cited above, it is during the same decade when Bertrandon de la Broquière first bore witness to the city's re-established Ottoman *kadı*, that is in the 1430's, that we also begin to hear extensively about the activities of a group of Ottoman-Muslim merchants within the Byzantine capital. This information has been preserved in the account book of the Venetian merchant Giacomo Badoer, who conducted business in Constantinople between 1436 and 1440 and had dealings with at least twelve Turkish merchants there.⁹ These merchants traded in wax, raisins, hide, wool, flax, and cloth. The scope of their activities, just as their numbers, was perhaps small. But it must be born in mind that the source in question lists only those people who happened to have commercial transactions with Badoer. Furthermore it gives little indication of their possible business affairs with other people in Constantinople. For instance, only two of the twelve Ottoman merchants cited by Badoer can be observed holding business relations with Greeks from Constantinople. And not surprisingly, these were banking transactions that transpired between the Turks and two

8. *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, ed. and trans. G.P. Majeska (Washington, D.C. 1984) 190-191. I am grateful to Dr. Konstantin Al. Zhukov for bringing this passage to my attention.

9. *Il libro dei conti di Giacomo Badoer (Costantinopoli 1436-1440)*, eds. U. Dorini, T. Bertelè (Rome 1956). These merchants were: *Ali Basa turcho* (Badoer, 382, 390, 391); *Choza Ali turcho* 341, 375); *Amet turco de Lichomidia* (7, 27, 33, 84, 85, 86); *Azi turcho* (394); *Ismael turcho* (139, 178); *Choza/Chogia Is (s) e turcho* (178, 236, 375, 382); *Jacsia turcho* (73, 112); *Chazi Musi turcho* (58, 139); *Mustafa turcho* (375, 382); *Ramadan de Simiso* (73, 97, 144); *Chazi Rastan turcho* (402, 465, 483); *Saliet turcho* (6, 14, 15, 17, 45, 96, 105). In addition, there are three unnamed Turks (137, 139, 382), who may or may not already be among the twelve merchants whose names are mentioned. On all of this, see Kafadar, 'A Death in Venice', 193, n.8.

renowned Constantinopolitan bankers — Ioannes Sophianos and Nikolaos Sarantenos — regarding payments for merchandise that had been exchanged between Badoer and the Turks.¹⁰

Outstanding among Badoer's Turkish clients is one by the name of 'Ali Basa', who has recently been identified by Cemal Kafadar as the Ottoman vezir Çandarlı Halil Paşa.¹¹ As Kafadar points out, evidence of Halil Paşa's involvement in the trade of Constantinople is quite consequential because it brings a new dimension to what has long been known from Ottoman, Byzantine, and Latin literary sources about his favourable political disposition towards the Byzantine state. These sources depict him as the leader of a peace faction at the Ottoman court who consistently advised both Sultan Murad II and his successor, Mehmed II, against making war on Constantinople. The literary sources also emphasize Halil's supposed inclination to receive bribes and gifts from Byzantine authorities, drawing connections between this and the policy of peace that he advocated.¹² The detection of Halil Paşa's name among the business associates of Badoer sheds new light on another aspect of the material interests he may have had in supporting peace with Byzantium — namely,

10. *Badoer*, 15, 139. In P. Schreiner's awaited edition of some account books kept by Byzantine-Greek merchants (see *Byzantinobulgarica* 7 [1981] 215-219), it should be possible to trace more transactions of various types — and not just money transactions — that must have taken place between Greek and Ottoman merchants.

11. Kafadar, 'A Death in Venice', 193-194.

12. See H. İnalcık, *Fatih Devri üzerinde Tetkikler ve Vesikalar* (Ankara 1954) 81f.; İ.H. Uzuncarşılı, *Çandarlı Vezir Ailesi* (Ankara 1974) 56-91. Information on Halil Paşa's pro-Byzantine and pro-peace attitude can be found in the following sources: Âşıkpaşazâde, ed. Atsız, 192; Georgios Sphrantzes, *Memorii, 1401-1477*, ed. V. Grecu (Bucharest 1966), XXIII.9-11 (60); Pseudo-Phrantzes = *Macarie Melissenos Cronica, 1258-1481*, ed. Grecu, in Sphrantzes, *Memorii*, 408-412, 436; Doukas, ed. Grecu, XXXIV.2, XXXV.5, XL.3, (293, 311-313, 377); *Critobuli Imbriotae Historiae*, ed. D.R. Reinsch (Berlin 1983) I.76, 1-2 (87); Leonard of Chios, in *MPG* 159, col. 937; Jacopo Tedaldi, 'Informazioni', in E. Martène and U. Durand, eds., *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum complectens regum ac principum aliorumque virorum illustrium epistolas et diplomata bene multa*, I (Paris 1717; repr., New York 1968) cols. 1821-1822. Note that Doukas records in Turkish how Halil came to be labelled among his Ottoman adversaries as 'καθούρ ὀρθαγῆ' (*gavur ortağı*), and correctly translates the term into Greek as 'companion or helper of the Greeks' (313⁶).

his commercial operations within Constantinople. In this context, it is noteworthy that on the eve of the Council of Ferrara-Florence, during the very same time when Badoer recorded Halil Paşa's activities, the Ottoman vezir had competently dissuaded Murad II from launching an attack against Constantinople.¹³ This corroborates the suggested link between Halil's economic interests and his political stance. The conspicuous absence of Turkish traders from Badoer's accounts during 1439-1440 lends further support to this argument by conveying how an open breach in Byzantine-Ottoman diplomatic relations, as indeed did occur following the conclusion of the Union at Florence in 1439, could result in the loss of commercial opportunities at Constantinople from which some Ottoman merchants were able to benefit during times of peaceful relations between the two states.

Another individual whose name stands out among the Ottoman subjects Badoer conducted business with is a man called *chir Jacob/Jachop*, who is described as the son of *Chogia Ise turcho*.¹⁴ This is puzzling since Badoer consistently uses the title *chir* (= kyr) in reference to his Greek clients, whereas he designates his Ottoman-Muslim clients with the typical Islamic titles *hacı* and *hoca*. Why, then, does he apply the word *chir* to the son of an Ottoman merchant in this case? It may well be that the so-called *Chogia Ise turcho* was a former Byzantine who had become an Ottoman subject and converted to Islam, while his son had retained his Christian faith, wherefore the latter's name appears accompanied with the Greek title *kyr*. Since conversion to Islam was not required for incorporation into Ottoman society, it was possible under Ottoman rule for some members of a family to remain as Christians, when part of their close kinsmen adopted Islam. A good example from the fifteenth century is that of two *tımar*-holding brothers in Thessaly, of whom one bore the name Mustafa and the other Petros.¹⁵ Alternatively, *chir Jacob* may

13. Sphrantzes, ed. Grecu, XXIII.9-11 (60).

14. Badoer, 178, 236; cf. 374, 382. See also Kafadar, 'A Death in Venice', 193, n.8.

15. İnalcık, *Fatih Devri*, 145: 'Timâr-ı Mustafa ve Petros birâder-i o . . .' The names are cited in a *defter* dating from 1454-1455, that is about sixty years after the Ottoman conquest of the area.

have been a convert like his father, in which case he might have kept his Greek title, perhaps finding its use among fellow Greeks and in his dealings with Westerners more practical and suitable than an Islamic title and name. A variant of this practice was employed by some Greek converts under Ottoman rule who preferred, possibly for similar reasons, to maintain their Byzantine family names as, for instance, 'Süleyman Agallianos', 'Mustafa bin Katakuzinos', and 'Mehmed Beg bin Rosota'.¹⁶

Greek merchants who were Ottoman subjects like the abovementioned father and son are by no means exceptional figures in Badoer's account book. To the contrary, the source contains a number of references to Greeks from Ottoman-ruled areas who frequented Constantinople for trading purposes. These references are indicative not only of the lively commercial traffic between the Byzantine capital and Ottoman lands, but also of the mercantile opportunities available to Greeks who lived under Ottoman domination. In fact, the competition created by this increased commercial traffic between Byzantium and Ottoman domains threatened Venice so much that sometime around 1430 the Venetian Senate tried to hinder the trade of Constantinople with 'Turchia' through the interception of boats that carried merchandise in either direction between the two regions.¹⁷ But the efforts of Venice were of no avail, as the testimony of Badoer makes clear. In 1436 *Andrea Rixa* of Adrianople and (*Chalo*) *jani Zichandilli* (Tzykandyles) of Serres, in 1436-1437 *Todaro Xingi* of *Simiso* (Samsun), in 1438 *Chostantino Rosso* and *Michali Sofiano* of Rodosto — all Greek inhabitants of Ottoman towns — were engaged in trade with Constantinople.¹⁸

16. *Actes de Dionysiou*, ed. N. Oikonomidès (Paris 1968) no. 40 (ca. 1500) (189); H. Sahillioğlu, 'Bir MültezimZimem Defterine göre XV. Yüzyıl Sonunda Osmanlı Darphane Mukataaları', *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 23 (1962-63) 188, 192 (ca. 1481) [From this document, we also learn Mustafa's original Greek first name, as he is referred to once as 'Andronikos, son of Katakuzino[s]', also known as (*nâm-ı diğer*) Mustafa']; E.A. Zachariadou, 'Ottoman Documents from the Archives of Dionysiou (Mount Athos) 1495-1520', *Südost-Forschungen* 30 (1971), doc. 10 (5 Sept. 1509), 14-15; 28 and n.55.

17. Thiriet, *Régestes*, II, no. 2209; Iorga, *Notes et extraits*, I, 523-524.

18. Badoer, 74, 27, 89, 334, 628.

Conversely, the activities of some Byzantine-Greek merchants and sailors who made trips to important commercial centres of the Ottomans are visible in Badoer as well. Between 1436 and 1438, for example, *chir Filialiti*, *Michali Sofo*, and *Vasilicho* transported various kinds of merchandise between Bursa and Constantinople, while in 1439 the shipowner *Dimitri Tofilato* delivered salted pork from Thessaloniki, which the Ottomans had conquered about a decade earlier.¹⁹ These last examples complete the full spectrum of Byzantine-Ottoman commercial relations recorded in Badoer's account book. The picture that emerges is one of busy trade, overland and via sea, between the Byzantine capital and Ottoman territories, both in the Balkans and in Asia Minor. Ottoman merchants, whether of Turkish or Greek origin, were able to participate in this trade by going in person to Constantinople, while their Byzantine counterparts were simultaneously admitted into various Ottoman towns.

This picture is confirmed by evidence from other sources, which add further details to our information. According to an anonymous Ottoman chronicle of the Crusade of Varna, following Murad II's Anatolian campaign against the Karamanids in 1443, a group of soldiers from the Ottoman army went to Constantinople with the purpose of selling the animals they had gathered as booty. Evidently, these were Muslim Tatars who lived in the European domains of the Ottoman Empire and, on their way back from Anatolia, made a stop in Constantinople in order to earn some money with their booty.²⁰ Here, then, we are not faced with professional merchants like the ones mentioned by Badoer, but with a different kind of trader whose activities were somewhat occasional — the soldier who wanted to capitalize on his war spoils. Professional merchants, too, participated in Ottoman

19. *ibid.*, 13, 74, 452, 650.

20. *Gazavât-ı Sultân Murâd b. Mehmed Hân*, eds. H. İnalçık and M. Oğuz (Ankara 1978) 7. On the so-called 'Tatar soldiers' and their role in the Ottoman army during the 14th and 15th centuries, see *ibid.*, 83-85 (n.6-7); Konstantin Mihailović, *Memoirs of a Janissary*, trans. B. Stolz, commentary and notes by S. Soucek (Ann Arbor 1975) 159-161, 232 (n.6-8).

military campaigns. According to Ioannes Kananos, who was an eyewitness to Murad II's siege of Constantinople in 1422, the Sultan's forces were composed of three categories of people who belonged, respectively, to the military, religious, and commercial classes of Ottoman society.²¹ It is conceivable that the trip of the Tatar soldiers to Constantinople recounted by the anonymous Ottoman chronicler was not a unique or isolated incident, and that there may have been similar occasions in which soldiers or merchants who took part in Ottoman campaigns interrupted their homeward journeys to find buyers for their booty in the same city.

We encounter yet another type of Ottoman merchant in a notarial document from the Genoese archives.²² This document records a number of disputes that took place in Pera in 1443 between one *Ialabi* and one *Corastefanos*, who had joint business ventures in diverse locations such as Bursa and Chios. Most interestingly for our purposes, the document notes that *Ialabi*, who was probably a Turkish merchant by the name of Çelebi,²³ lived at that time in Pera together with his wife and his family. If the identification of *Ialabi* as a Turk on the basis of his name is correct, then we are in the presence of a rare piece of evidence showing a Turkish merchant settled in Pera with his family, unlike the other merchants we have seen so far who were only transitory visitors. Although *Ialabi*'s place of residence was Pera rather than Constantinople, the evidence is nonetheless valuable because it offers a hint as to the degree of the incorporation of Turkish merchants into the region's daily social and economic life.

We have another piece of evidence which does not directly concern Constantinople, but is important in giving a glimpse of how merchandise changed hands in the general region between Ottoman, Greek, and Italian traders. This is a letter Fra Bartolomeo di Giano wrote from Constantinople at the end of 1438.

21. Giovanni Cananos, *L'assedio di Costantinopoli. Introduzione, testo critico, traduzione, note e lessico*, ed. E. Pinto (Messina 1977) 60.

22. A. Roccatagliata, *Notai genovesi in Oltremare. Atti rogati a Pera e Mitilene*, vol. I: *Pera, 1408-1490* (Genoa 1982), no. 13 (69-71).

23. It is also conceivable that the man in question was Persian.

He points out in this letter that large quantities of goods, such as steel, which were in high demand among the Turks were transported on Italian ships to places like Adrianople, Gallipoli, and Pera. There the Italians sold them to Greek and Jewish merchants, who in turn sold them to the Turks. As Fra Bartolomeo had been living in Constantinople since 1435, he may have had occasion to witness transactions of this kind that took place in Pera.²⁴

And last but not least, the widespread use of the Ottoman currency within Constantinople must be mentioned as a further sign of the Ottomans' commercial role in the city during the fifteenth century. The frequency of Badoer's references to *asperi turcheschi* and *ducati turcheschi* in his account book gives one a clear sense of the regularity with which the Ottoman currency circulated in the international market of the Byzantine capital.²⁵ This also explains why among the people who fled from the city in 1453 some had Ottoman aspers in their possession.²⁶

In conclusion, this study has demonstrated the indisputable Ottoman presence in the economic life of the Byzantine capital, particularly during the second quarter of the fifteenth century. If in the immediate confusion following Bayezid's defeat at the battle of Ankara Byzantine authorities had grasped the opportunity to do away with the Turkish quarter, mosque, and *kadı* of Constantinople, approximately three decades later circumstances had changed again to allow the re-entry of Ottoman traders into the city. The question that immediately arises is why or how was the Turkish element able to regain the former place it occupied in the economic life of Constantinople prior to the battle of Ankara. It would have been helpful in answering this question to know precisely when this development took place.

24. Fra Bartolomeo di Giano, 'Epistola de crudelitate Turcarum', in *MPG* 158, col. 1063d. See also col. 1058a, for slave trade through the port of Gallipoli.

25. Badoer, 6, 7, 33, 37, 59, 66, 72, 73, 88, 89, 93-97, 102, 110, 112, 115, 121, 157, 179, 186, 236, 264, 265, 306, 308, 336, 362, 375, 396, 499, 572, 579, etc.

26. A. Roccatagliata, 'Con un notaio genovese tra Pera e Chio nel 1453-1454', *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* 17 (1979), 224.

While the available evidence seems to suggest that the activities of Ottoman merchants in the Byzantine capital became especially intense during the third decade of the fifteenth century — whereas we have seen that at least between 1419 and 1422 Ottomans conducted their commercial transactions with Constantinopolitan traders in their own town of Scutari — it is by no means possible to establish a conclusive dating in the absence of sources like Badoer from the earlier decades of the century. For instance, a likely period for brisk commercial activity between Byzantine and Ottoman merchants is the reign of Bayezid I's son Çelebi Mehmed I (1413-1421), during which more or less peaceful political relations existed — at least in appearance — between the Byzantine and Ottoman states.²⁷ Yet, with the exception of Zosima's testimony concerning the use of Scutari as a port of exchange, almost nothing is known about Byzantine-Ottoman commercial contacts during this period. One cannot help questioning whether this is simply a source problem, or whether the long-distance commercial undertakings of Ottoman merchants had actually declined due to the politically and economically unstable conditions facing the Ottoman state that had just emerged from ten years of civil wars following the battle of Ankara. Such questions will unfortunately have to remain unresolved until the discovery and publication of new sources.

Nonetheless, in light of contemporary political developments, it might be suggested that the Byzantine-Ottoman peace treaty of February 1424 played a determining role in the revitalization of the economic activities of Ottoman merchants in Constantinople. Unable to endure the full-scale military pressure exerted since 1422 by Sultan Murad II, the Byzantine government conceded to signing this treaty by which it surrendered most of the territories that the Ottomans had restored to it after the battle of Ankara. More importantly, after more than twenty years of

27. On the officially peaceful political relations of this period, see J.W. Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus (1391-1425) A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship* (New Brunswick 1969) 287-289, 318-320, 331-354, 389-390.

freedom from the tribute obligation subsequent to the battle of Ankara and Bayezid I's death, the treaty of 1424 re-established Byzantium's status as a tributary vassal of the Ottoman state. In short, the terms of the peace treaty, amounting basically to the loss of the principal advantages Byzantium had gained in the period following 1402/1403, signified a major political reversal.²⁸ Given these facts, it may well be that Ottoman merchants effectively re-entered the Constantinopolitan market also following the treaty of 1424 and assumed the role which they are known to have played there during the reign of Bayezid I, when Byzantium had once again been in the position of a tribute-paying vassal state of the Sultan.

Boğaziçi University Istanbul

28. Doukas, ed. Grecu, XXIX.1 (245). According to Doukas, the territorial losses of Byzantium in 1424 included the cities and towns on the Black Sea coast (except some fortresses such as Mesembria and Derkoi), Zeitounion and the lands along the Strymon. Compare these losses with the territorial gains of Byzantium during the decade following the battle of Ankara: Doukas, ed. Grecu, XVIII.2 (111-113) (treaty with Süleyman, in 1403), XX.1 (133) (treaty with Mehmed I, in 1413); Dennis, 'Byzantine-Turkish Treaty of 1403', 78. The amount of the tribute Murad II demanded in 1424 was 300,000 aspers, according to Doukas, or 100,000 ducats, according to a contemporary Venetian document from Coron preserved in Marino Sanuto's *Vite dei duchi di Venezia*, ed. L.A. Muratori, *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, 22 (Milan 1733), col. 975B. While Constantinople remained free from the tribute obligation throughout 1403-1424, in Thessaloniki tribute payment may have been resumed as early as in 1411.

SHORT NOTES

Papdiamandis and Homer: A Note

DAVID RICKS

Meaningful allusion to the classics in Papdiamandis's work is not a matter of the text's being stuffed with overt classical references. In his early novels we find a large number of, as it were, classical one-liners: essentially undigested — or at best opportunistic — allusions. The technique is a less focused form of Roidis's in *Pope Joan*; perhaps a closer comparison is Kalligas's *Thanos Vlekas*, which is replete with Homeric allusions and puns, none of them integral to the narrative. Similarly, we find in early Papdiamandis a disorderly collection of allusions: Byron, Milton, Aesop, Sophocles, Juvenal, Homer *et al.*; and sometimes we see his allusiveness to be a mere tic of style rather than fully purposive.¹ In other words, it is as true here as elsewhere in Greek literary tradition that we need to sift meaningful from more or less chance allusion.

At the same time, there is at least one celebrated tale, '*Ta daimonia sto rema*', in which significant, but largely covert, classical allusion seems to have passed unremarked.² So I offer here some suggestions by way of supplement to Farinou-Malamatari's cogent account.³

The principal characteristic of the tale is irony: the narrator's minor misadventures are extravagantly described as ordeals and

1. I record here one undocumented example: Papdiamandis ('*Άπαντα*, 5 vols., ed. N.D. Triantafyllopoulos (Athens 1981-8) 3.26, lines 2-3) alludes, with a clear verbal reminiscence, to an epigram of Palladas (*AP* 11.381).

2. Papdiamandis, '*Άπαντα* 3.237-48; hereafter I refer to this in the text by page and line number only.

3. G. Farinou-Malamatari, *Αφηγηματικές τεχνικές στον Παπαδιαμάντη* (Athens 1987) 256-65.

tribulations. In part this is to convey (quite realistically) a sensitive ten-year-old's terror at being lost; in part it is understood as an allegory of the subsequent life of the mature narrator. The author is quite explicit about this (243.21-7):

... When I now recollect that childhood incident, it seems to me an allegory of my entire life.

Chè la diritta via era smarrita.

I went up the ravine and further up and grew ever more lost. I never found myself again — no — but rather lost it. Oh yes, the straight way was lost as far as I was concerned. *La diritta via era smarrita.*

It seems to me that the reference to Dante is more than a tag: it leads us into a connection with 'high' literary genres which Papadiamandis will parody in his tale — the object of irony being none other than himself. In no particular order, but in a way which is not random, the narrator in effect compares the wanderings of his childhood self over part of a day with those of Odysseus over ten years. The relation between his short story (*Diegema*, as it is subtitled) and the *Odyssey* is in a sense comparable to that between the *Odyssey* and Lucian's *True Histories* (*Alethe Diegemata*). As in the case of Lucian, what we get is at least a 'comic additive' which enhances the reader's enjoyment; and it is carried out with great deftness.⁴

When, in the first episode, a horse runs off with the narrator, he describes his fear as follows:

... And the mare ran on madly, and the reins dragged on the ground, and didn't happen to catch anywhere, on a crevice or a shrub or a stake-shaped bit of wood. And who could know if its catching anywhere would be for good or ill? Either the rope would snap with the momentum of the enraged beast, and then its fury would only increase, or the rope would hold, and then I, with the unruly crabwise leaping of the mare, would probably be catapulted somewhere, against a rock or precipice, or against thorny shrubs and the sharp trunks of felled trees. (239.17-25)

4. C. Robinson, *Lucian and his Influence in Europe* (London 1979) 26.

The way in which the alternatives are presented has something of the internal debate of the Homeric hero, and in particular the episode with Odysseus off the coast of Scheria: riding his broken raft, he debates whether to risk being dashed on the rocky shore or whether to swim further; risking being dragged out once more into the open sea (*Odyssey* 5.408-23).

The narrator's second adventure begins, like those of Odysseus's narrative to the Phaeacians, with his Companions (see 242.5), who show themselves to be envious and conspiratorial (241.5-6) as were Odysseus's over the winds of Aeolus (*Odyssey* 5.46). The other boys disappear (from the narrator and from the story, but not to their destruction, as happens in the *Odyssey*) and the narrator is left on his own. (243.15)

It is then that he wanders from his path (the verb *apeplanethen* possibly echoing *Odyssey* 1.2: *planchthe*), after which we get the quotation from Dante. In what follows we find the tale's only explicit reference to Homer (which we might consider to be the tip of the iceberg): the narrator speaks of rocks so steep that οὐκ ἀμβαίη βροτὸς ἀνὴρ οὐ καταβαίη (244.10). The reference is to *Odyssey* 12.77, where Circe is instructing Odysseus how to deal with Scylla and Charybdis.⁵ The description of the boy scrambling up the slope by clinging onto some shrubs (244.13-16) may owe something to a recollection of the Scylla and Charybdis episode as subsequently told by Odysseus: the hero clings by his hands to a wild olive tree in the rock (*Odyssey* 12.432-8).

But the poor narrator's adventures are not at an end. A little later he sees a shepherd boy and his sister standing on the other side of the ravine far above him — but his plea for help is answered by a volley of stones (246.8-30). With his flocks, his harsh whistling (see *Odyssey* 9.315) and his brutal response to one in distress, the shepherd boy is an analogue of Polyphemus. In particular, his hurling of rocks, one of which nearly hits the narrator, is an evident recollection of *Odyssey* 9.480-541.

5. Either Papadiamandis or his typesetter (or both) has mangled the quotation, which should read: οὐδέ κεν ἀμβαίη βροτὸς ἀνὴρ, οὐδ' ἐπιβαίη.

The narrator finally reaches the ruined hermitage of Chairemon, after whom the ravine in which he has been wandering is named, and sees a vision of the saintly hermit, who humorously berates him for his disobedience (247.3-29). He is then rudely awakened by two women from the village, who chastise him but offer protection from his father's ire (248.2-17). In this part of the narrative we may, I think, detect a reworking of *Odyssey* 13, in which the hero is returned to Ithaca by the Phaeacians in his sleep, and wakes to encounter Athena, who banters with him. Papadiamandis has of course divided the role of Athena between the supernatural presence of Chairemon (see especially 247.23) and the earthy but benign women; their offer of help echoes Athena's promise to protect Odysseus against the suitors (*Odyssey* 13. 393-4).

The concluding touch of irony to the tale is the tail-piece which frames the whole narration:

My father was left pensive on hearing my narration.
— You are an obstinate one! he said.

What we have here is an ambiguous comment. In part the sense is 'How you get into trouble!', but it is also designed to boost the child's self-esteem as a narrator (compare Alcinous's compliment to Odysseus at *Odyssey* 363-76): 'Quite a story there, my boy!'

With this final tribute to the narrator, the sense of the Odyssean flavour of some of the episodes becomes clear: here is a child which lives as much in books as in real life, and therefore feels separate from his fellows (243.1: 'They hated me because I was a priest's son'). He can give his life meaning and self-respect, not through action but only through narration; and in that sense he falls short of a Homeric hero such as Odysseus, who can be 'a sayer of words and a doer of deeds' (*Iliad* 9.443). In this ironic mode we have a forerunner of the Homeric allusion on a larger

scale in Kosmas Politis's *Eroica*.⁶ There too we see how far boys' behaviour is shaped by the Homeric models to which they aspire.⁷

*Department of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies,
King's College London*

6. Peter Mackridge documents this persuasively in his edition of the novel (Athens 1982); see especially pp. λθ'-μβ' and nn. 12-13 on p. πη'. One further Homeric reference deserves mention: on p. 77, Loizos says to Michalis: Παληόσκυλο! . . . Πέθαναν άλλοι δα πολύ καλύτεροί σου! Though not a quotation from Alexandros Pallis's translation of the *Iliad* (like the one on p. 32), it is in the same idiom, and seems to echo the famous words of Achilles to Lycaon at *Iliad* 21.106-7.

7. Two poetic treatments of the Homeric heroes as shaping a boy's imagination deserve mention here for comparison: Browning's poem 'Development' (*The Poems*, 2 vols., ed. J. Pettigrew and T.J. Collins (Harmondsworth 1981) 918-21) and Edwin Arlington Robinson's 'Isaac and Archibald' (*Collected Poems* (New York 1930) 169-81).

CRITICAL STUDIES

Parallel Universes: Byzantine art history in 1990 and 1991

LESLIE BRUBAKER

Art history, like many disciplines in the so-called humanities, has engaged in a bout of re-definition over the past decade. Studies of the art of Byzantium have not been immune to this wave of revision and re-assessment. Though it must be said that Byzantine has been affected less than Roman or, especially, nineteenth-century art history, the discipline is nonetheless in a state of transition, and this fact deserves greater recognition than it has received. Byzantinists have, I think, a tendency to compartmentalise scholarship by authors (or occasionally universities) without examining the paradigmatic shifts in the discipline as a whole. Studies that provide such essentially historiographical overviews are normally confined within the limits of a book review or to the preface of a monographic study.¹ In both cases, the scope is necessarily limited by the content. *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* has not included book reviews in the past, and my goal here is not primarily to write an extended review of any book or article in particular. It is, in part, to assess recent literature on Byzantine art; but also to place the studies considered into a larger structure. What I am attempting, in other words, is a synthesis of two genres: review and overview.

The following summary of the state of Byzantine art history in 1990-1991 is the first of a projected series to appear in *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*. As the preliminary and introduc-

1. But see R. Cormack, 'New Art History vs. Old Art History: Writing Art History', *BMGS* 10 (1986) 223-231, and H.L. Kessler, 'On the State of Medieval Art', *Art Bulletin* 70, no. 2 (1988) who includes Byzantium within the rubric of medieval.

tory survey, the form and scope of these remarks are both experimental and tentative. Comments are based on books sent to the journal for review, on articles in other journals that were readily available, and on my own reading — which is, of course, limited by my own interests. I have written short summarising reviews of the books and articles included, and grouped them together topically with additional comments of disparate length. This may or may not be the most useful way in which to organise an overview of recent research. I would therefore stress that the journal welcomes comments and criticisms on the form of this article as well as its content. Review copies of relevant books from presses that do not currently send them, and, perhaps especially, off-prints from less accessible journals, would further enhance the comprehensiveness of the series.

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BOOKS AND ARTICLES CONSIDERED (PUBLISHED 1990-1991), CITED ALPHABETICALLY BY AUTHOR:

NB: articles in *BMGS* (1990) and 15 (1991) have been excluded from the commentary, to avoid conflict of interest; they are, however, cited in the following bibliography and noted where relevant in discussion.

- J.C. Anderson, 'The Illustrated Sermons of James the Monk: Their Dates, Order, and Place in the History of Byzantine Art', *Viator* 22 (1991) 69-120.
- M-F. Auzépy, 'La destruction de l'icône du Christ de la Chalcé par Léon III: Propagande ou réalité?' *B 40* (1990) 445-492.
- C.C. Connor, *Art and Miracles in Medieval Byzantium. The crypt at Hosios Loukas and its frescoes* (Princeton 1991).
- S. Ćurčić and D. Mouriki, eds., *The Twilight of Byzantium. Aspects of Cultural and Religious History in the Late Byzantine Empire*, Papers from the colloquium held at Princeton University, 8-9 May 1989 (Princeton 1991).
- M.-D. Gauthier-Walter, 'Joseph, figure idéale du Roi?' *Cahiers archéologiques* 38 (1990) 25-36.
- L.-A. Hunt, 'A woman's prayer to St. Sergius in Latin Syria: interpreting a thirteenth-century icon at Mt. Sinai', *BMGS* 15 (1991) 96-145.
- L. James, 'Colour and the Byzantine Rainbow', *BMGS* 15 (1991) 66-94.
- L. James and R. Webb, '"To Understand Ultimate Things and Enter Secret Places": Ekphrasis and Art in Byzantium', *Art History* 14, no. 1 (1991) 1-17.
- C. Jolivet-Lévy, *Les églises byzantines de Cappadoce, le programme iconographique de l'abside et de ses abords* (Paris 1991).
- I. Kalavrezou, 'Images of the Mother: When the Virgin Mary Became Meter Theou', *DOP* 44 (1990) 165-172.

- P.D. Leveto, 'The Marian Theme of the Frescoes in S. Maria at Castelseprio', *Art Bulletin* 72 (1990) 393-413.
- H. Maguire, 'Garments Pleasing to God: The Significance of Domestic Textile Designs in the Early Byzantine Period', *DOP* 44 (1990) 215-224.
- C. Mango, 'Constantine's mausoleum and the translation of relics', *BZ* 83 (1990) 51-62.
- C. Mango, E.J. Hawkins, and S. Boyd, 'The Monastery of St. Chrysostomos at Koutsovendis (Cyprus) and Its Wall Paintings. Part I: Description', *DOP* 44 (1990) 63-94.
- R. Morris, ed., *Church and People in Byzantium*, Twentieth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Manchester 1986 (Birmingham 1990).
- D. Mouriki, 'Variants of the Hodegetria on two thirteenth-century Sinai icons', *Cahiers archéologiques* 39 (1991) 153-182.
- A. Muthesius, 'Crossing traditional boundaries: grub to glamour in Byzantine silk weaving', *BMGS* 15 (1991) 326-364.
- N. Oikonomidès, 'The Contents of the Byzantine House from the Eleventh to the Fifteenth Century', *DOP* 44 (1990) 205-214.
- J. Osborne, 'The Use of Painted Initials by Greek and Latin Scriptoria in Carolingian Rome', *Gesta* 29, no. 1 (1990) 76-85.
- R. Ousterhout, ed., *The Blessings of Pilgrimage*, Illinois Byzantine Studies I (Urbana and Chicago 1990a).
- R. Ousterhout, 'The Temple, the Sepulchre, and the *Martyrion* of the Savior', *Gesta* 29, no. 1 (1990b) 44-53.
- S. Papadaki-Oekland, 'The representation of Justinian's column in a Byzantine miniature of the twelfth century', *BZ* 83 (1990) 63-71.
- H. Saradi-Mendelovici, 'Christian Attitudes toward Pagan Monuments in Late Antiquity and Their Legacy in Later Byzantine Centuries', *DOP* 44 (1990) 47-61.
- N.P. Ševčenko, *Illustrated Manuscripts of the Metaphrastian Menologion*, Studies in Medieval Manuscript Illumination, Chicago Visual Library Text-Fiche series no. 54 (Chicago 1990).
- G. Vikan, 'Art and Marriage in Early Byzantium', *DOP* 44 (1990) 145-163.
- A. Wharton, 'Rereading *Martyrium*: The Modernist and Postmodernist Texts', *Gesta* 29, no. 1 (1990) 3-7.
- W. Wolska-Conus, 'La Topographie chrétienne' de Cosmas Indicopleuste: Hypothèses sur quelques thèmes de son illustration', *REB* 48 (1990) 155-191.

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Perhaps because Byzantinists have always had to speculate on the basis of limited evidence, they have often relied on what is sometimes called an interdisciplinary approach. Three recent volumes collect essays by different authors centred on a single broad theme: the contributors to Ousterhout (1990a) provide "'chapters" of a larger, interdisciplinary study of Christian pilgrimage' (3); those included in Morris (1990) deal with 'the experience of Byzantine worshippers as they came into contact with the Church's liturgy, music, buildings, holy objects, and art'

(1); and the scholars represented in Ćurčić and Mouriki (1991) offer 'a further contribution to the understanding of the Byzantine Empire under its last imperial dynasty, the Palaeologi' (3). Each of these volumes contains individual contributions of note;² only *The Blessings of Pilgrimage*, however, attempts to supply a coherent study. It succeeds in doing this; as a result, unlike the other two collections, it is well worth reading straight through. The reasons for the success of *Pilgrimage* seem to me to lie in the careful selection of topics considered, the intelligence of most of the articles included, and the editorial introductory remarks that preface each essay and place the articles themselves into a broader context.

The five essays collected into Part II of *The Blessings of Pilgrimage* focus on art history, and follow a roughly chronological arrangement. C. Hahn, 'Loca Sancta Souvenirs: Sealing the Pilgrim's Experience' (86-96), and G. Vikan, 'Pilgrims in Magi's Clothing: The Impact of Mimesis on Early Byzantine Pilgrimage Art' (98-107), introduce the most familiar badges of pilgrimage, the ampullae and tokens associated with the Holy Land. These objects, which have tended to be cited by previous scholars mostly in connection with attempts to reconstruct pilgrimage sites — a manifestation of the mid-twentieth-century tendency to value medieval art primarily as a means to recover something earlier — are viewed by Hahn and Vikan as informative pieces of material culture: both authors focus on the intersection of pilgrimage souvenirs and the pilgrim's experience.³ Each notes that the relationship of the image stamped on the pilgrim souvenirs to its physical prototype fits with Byzantine 'icon theory' (88, 101): the images are not opaque, but rather mediate between the viewer/pilgrim and the person or site portrayed.⁴ That the

2. Those in Morris (1990) and Ćurčić and Mouriki (1991) will be considered individually below.

3. See also Vikan's earlier *Byzantine Pilgrimage Art* (Washington DC 1982).

4. In an earlier article — G. Vikan, 'Ruminations on Edible Icons: Originals and Copies in the Art of Byzantium', *Studies in the History of Art* 20 (1989) 47-59 — Vikan made the neat point that icons are essentially 'transparent': the viewer looks through them to the figure represented. Here too he assessed those incredible edible icons, the relic tokens of Symeon the Stylite.

souvenirs function in ways similar to other Byzantine imagery is no surprise, for Byzantine 'icon theory' was not restricted to the panel paintings we now call icons. The fact that both authors nonetheless feel compelled to point out that the ampullae and tokens are 'like' icons in this respect suggests that the conventional translation of the Greek *eikon* as 'icon' should be discarded in favour of the more accurate 'image'.

Hahn primarily considers the function of the souvenirs, which she implies was of greatest importance after the pilgrim had returned home. She draws a rather nice comparison with the modern postcard: like the postcard (or, I suppose, the art historian's slides and photographs), pilgrim souvenirs proved that the owner had visited the site, recalled that site to the mind of the pilgrim, and — following a line of argument that Hahn credits to MacCannell, who appears to have adapted it from Walter Benjamin's 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction'⁵ — validated the authenticity of the original site. They are, in other words, witnesses; and Hahn suggests that their decorations should be seen in the same vein, both as general topographic indicators recalling the site of the pilgrim's experience, and 'not as primarily narrative, or symbolic images, but as witnesses to the reality of God descended on earth' (87). Hahn's second theme is that the pilgrim and the souvenir undergo parallel processes. The filling of the ampulla with oil is likened to the filling of the pilgrim with grace, the sealing of the vessel to the sealing of the Christian unto God (through baptism), and the blessing of the ampulla to the blessing of the pilgrim; hence the souvenir also functions as a sign, signalling to God that the pilgrim is among the elect. Vikan also stresses function and adduces parallels, but of a more physical variety: where Hahn aligns the pilgrim and the souvenir, he documents the pilgrim's reenactment of biblical events. A pilgrim emulated David and threw three stones at Goliath's tomb, for example, or was, like Christ, baptised in the Jordon on Epiphany, and Vikan concludes that such a reenactment 'drew much of its

5. Translated, with other works by Benjamin, in *Illuminations* (London 1970).

power from the convergence of significant *place*, significant *time*, and significant, mimetic *action*' (100). Like Hahn, Vikan sees this experience etched into the decoration of ampullae, which present images that are 'Neither strictly historical nor strictly liturgical' but instead attempt to replicate 'a momentary, experiential reality' (102), as visualised on a number of ampullae that include suppliant pilgrims. Vikan then introduces pilgrim tokens, earthen amulets that resemble the more familiar Stylite tokens but that show other saints or biblical scenes. He notes an iconographical link between these tokens and the ampullae: some of the suppliant pilgrims on the ampullae wear clothing that recalls that worn by the Magi as they are traditionally portrayed in Byzantium, while nearly forty percent of the pilgrim tokens represent the Magi themselves, sometimes guided by an angel. Vikan then completes his circle by arguing that the Magi provide the perfect prototype for pilgrimage mimesis: they were, in a sense, the first pilgrims; and they also, as was particularly relevant on a pilgrim's amulet, travelled safely, protected by an angel.⁶

Two of the other three essays in this section of *Pilgrimage* extend our understanding of pilgrim ampullae and tokens beyond the conventional sites of the Holy Land. M. Duncan-Flowers, 'A Pilgrim's Ampullae from the Shrine of St John the Evangelist at Ephesus' (126-139), introduces the little known flasks containing the holy dust emitted by John's tomb at Ephesus; Ch. Bakirtzis, 'Byzantine Ampullae from Thessaloniki' (141-149), presents a group of much later containers from twelfth- and thirteenth-century Thessaloniki, many of which contained holy oil that seeped from the tombs of St Theodora and, later, St Demetrios. In the midst of this, the editor of the volume, R. Ousterhout, contributes 'Loca Sancta and the Architectural Response to Pilgrimage' (109-124). Here Ousterhout extends the now-classic ideas contained in R. Krautheimer's 'Introduction to an

6. For more on Vikan's mimetic theory, see his article cited in note 4 above and the discussion of manuscript studies below.

“Iconography of Medieval Architecture”⁷ by shifting the focus from the mechanics of ‘copying’ famous buildings to ‘the motivation for their construction’ (111). He notes that structures in some way emulating holy sites — normally the Anastasis rotunda of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre — were usually built by returning pilgrims or groups like the Templars who had, and wished to stress, concrete ties with the Holy Land, and argues that ‘In both form and function, the buildings are analogous in concept to the smaller, portable pilgrims’ souvenirs’ (111). And like the tokens and ampullae, the architectural copies could function as proxies for those who could not travel, spreading the blessings of Jerusalem throughout western Europe.

Elsewhere, Ousterhout (1990b) reverses his sights, and suggests that the Holy Sepulchre more or less consciously absorbed rituals and relics from Solomon’s Temple, and that the form of Christ’s tomb may have derived from representations of the Temple as well. This is a fairly speculative article, and its real agenda seems to be Ousterhout’s ongoing attempt to refine Krautheimer. His main point here complements that just described: ascribing meaning to architecture requires contextual knowledge.

The association between early Byzantine architecture and its context is also central to Mango (1990), who suggests that two issues usually considered separately — the early building history of the Holy Apostles complex in Constantinople, and the practice of the transfer of saints’ relics — are in fact interrelated. He argues that Constantine built a standard mausoleum for himself, following tetrarchic practice, in which he was surrounded by cenotaphs of the twelve apostles; the adjacent church, which housed relics of Timothy, Andrew, and Luke acquired in 356 and 357 and was consecrated in 370, was built by Constantius II. For some reason, Mango ignores the most comprehensive recent discussion of this issue, that in R. Krautheimer’s *Three Christian Capitals*

7. *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942) 1-33; reprinted with additional comments in Krautheimer’s *Studies in Early Christian, Medieval, and Renaissance Art* (New York 1969) 115-150.

(Berkeley, 1983), though he does cite (and refute) Krautheimer's 1964 article on the Apostoleion.⁸ Krautheimer came to different conclusions, but his general discussion of Constantine's conservative ('pagan') interpretation of Christianity in *Capitals* complements Mango's, and the two might usefully be read together. The relics brought to the Holy Apostles were, in any event, apparently the earliest examples of body-snatching that did not occasion public outcry, and Mango believes that their translation effectively broke the old taboo against defiling tombs, and thus inaugurated the relic trade, in full flood by the 380s.

The theme of sacred topography also resurfaces, this time in the context of the Palaeologan period. S. Ćurčić 'Late Byzantine *Loca Sancta*? Some Questions Regarding the Form and Function of Epitaphioi' in Ćurčić and Mouriki (1991) 251-261, considers the two related textiles at Princeton and Belgrade that portray the dead Christ surrounded by angels. He suggests that they — and others like them — were used as tomb or shrine canopies or simply hung on church walls to evoke the Holy Sepulchre; in so doing, the epitaphioi functioned as symbolic *loca sancta*.

The analogies that Hahn draws between postcards and pilgrim ampullae, and that Ousterhout makes between medieval copies of shrines and The Holy Land in America, a Franciscan complex in Washington DC dedicated in 1899 (both in Ousterhout [1990a]), fit into a larger and rather interesting pattern in recent scholarship on Byzantine art. Vikan is well-known for his public lectures equating medieval relic cults with the modern American cult of Elvis, and other scholars as well have increasingly relied on modern analogies in an attempt to make past experience breathe.⁹ This attempt to demystify 'the other' has been given a new twist by T. Mathews, 'The transformation symbolism

8. Similarly, Mango refers to Demus's 1960 discussion of the relationship between the Holy Apostles and San Marco; a fuller consideration appears in O. Demus, *The Mosaics of San Marco in Venice* (Chicago 1984).

9. E.g. T. Mathews, 'The Sequel to Nicaea II in Byzantine Church Decoration', *Perkins Journal* (July 1988) 11-21; L. Brubaker, 'Byzantine art in the ninth century: theory, practice, and culture', *BMGS* 13 (1989) 36-37, 81.

in Byzantine architecture and the meaning of the Pantokrator in the dome' in Morris (1990) 191-214, who rehabilitates the use of the term Pantokrator and then turns to a consideration of how Byzantine viewers responded to that image by drawing parallels with Buddhist and Hindu *mandalas*. Both, he argues, are transformative symbols: the Christian viewer follows the way illuminated by the Pantokrator and becomes integrated with Christ through the eucharist.

Analogies such as these coexist — sometimes in the same article — with the increasing realisation that our own isolation from the Byzantines must be recognised.¹⁰ R. Nelson, 'The discourse of icons', *Art History* 12 (1989) 144-157, for example, observed that the conditions under which we view Byzantine imagery are antithetical to the Byzantine experience, and that an empirical approach does not always do the imagery justice; he postulated an active discourse between image and audience, using a miniature of Christ in Dumbarton Oaks codex 3 as his prime example.

Nelson was not alone in either of his two major preoccupations: at least two other scholars, in articles published in the same year, focused on the dialogue between Byzantine images and their viewers,¹¹ and James and Webb (1991) continue the theme. Before turning to their stimulating article, however, let us return to Nelson's second motif: how the present deals with the past. This is a topic neglected by most art historians, and given the historical relationship between art history and the art market such neglect is perhaps understandable.¹² The most brilliant article I

10. For an article that blends both, apparently irreconcilable, approaches, I can but cite my own (as in note 9 above) 23-93.

11. See the articles cited in note 9 above, and L. Brubaker, 'Perception and Conception: Art, Theory and Culture in Ninth-century Byzantium', *Word and Image* 5, no. 1 (1989) 19-32.

12. See M. Vickers, 'Eighteenth-Century Taste and the Study of Greek Vases', *Past and Present* 116 (1987) 98-137; the relationship between Berenson and Duveen is axiomatic: see, for example, M. Secrest, *Being Bernard Berenson* (New York 1979) especially 226-229, 399-407. The classic examination of the relation between art history and art collecting remains J. Alsop, *The Rare Art Traditions: The History of Art Collecting and its Linked Phenomena* (Princeton 1982).

have ever read on how the present uses the objects of the past (perhaps, though I doubt it, because it was the first one) was Donna Harraway's analysis of the Natural History Museum in Washington DC;¹³ using this as a model, I have assigned students in a museums seminar various collections, including those at Dumbarton Oaks. But while I have heard amazing analyses of the way the works were collected, and are now displayed, at (to cite a few examples) the Museum of Modern Art in New York, the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, and even the pre-Colombian Johnson wing at Dumbarton Oaks, none of my students has ever been able to get beneath the surface of the Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine collection. 'The other' represented by Byzantium is both too other and not quite other enough for my students, and there have been no structural analyses to use as a base. Nelson at least partially introduced the subject in print,¹⁴ and Wharton (1990) continues with an article that offers, in her poignant phrase, 'a Postmodernist rereading of [Grabar's] *Martyrium* that may help salvage the work from voiceless canonicity' (3). This is not, evidently, an exercise in nostalgia. But Wharton is not really following Nelson's specific agenda either. She is, instead, looking at how Grabar's book was reviewed when it came out, what that meant, and how we should deal with both the book and the reviews now.

Studies that deal with the ways past scholarship (or, in this case, reviews of it) has manipulated history to its own ends, and at-

13. 'Teddy Bear Patriarchy: Taxidermy in the Garden of Eden', *Social Text* 4, no. 2 (1984) 20-64. For a less nuanced, but equally blunt, analysis of, especially, the Louvre, see C. Duncan and A. Wallach, 'The Universal Survey Museum', *Art History* 3, no. 4 (1980) 448-469; and for a quick critique of recent attempts to understand past (and present) attitudes toward images of the other, A.F. Coombes and S. Edwards, 'Site Unseen: Photography in the Colonial Empire: Images of a Subconscious Eroticism', *Art History* 12, no. 4 (1989) 510-516. Shelly Errington, who has contributed greatly over the years to my understanding of how the museum intersects with the relationship between art history and the past, also has several pertinent articles in press.

14. The new 'Exhibition?' at the Ashmolean, which I have not yet seen, apparently does the same in three-dimensions; other people have done so in lectures or private conversations, most notably Thelma Thomas.

tempt to examine by extension how we ourselves are doing the same (an exercise that I would call historiography), are, in some ways, the ultimate modern exercise in self-referentiality. Wharton nonetheless implicates historiography in her post-modern agenda, by using it to expose what she sees as the differences between a modernist (then) and a post-modernist (now) reading of Grabar's *Martyrium*. As an art historian, I view historiography as an analytical tool; but it seems to me a crucial one, and one that has been virtually ignored until quite recently in art history as well as in Byzantine studies. Wharton supplies an exception, and her article is fun besides. She plays the historiography game beautifully, and reminds us with some humour that we always read the present into the past. As in all good essays of this sort, Wharton illuminates the preconceptions governing the initial response to, in this case, Grabar's *Martyrium*, and sets them firmly in a structural framework which is by and large successful. She relies, as did Rouan in her epochal (for me, anyway) deconstruction of the Life of St Stephen the Younger,¹⁵ on binary oppositions; but while Rouan constructed her dyads to illuminate a ninth-century text, Wharton imposes hers on the modernist position which, she argues, assumed contrasts between east and west, true and false, original and copy, elite and popular, and past and present. I would quibble with her elite/popular dyad, but only because I think that any building presupposes a fairly extensive financial outlay that doesn't quite fit my own conception of 'popular' (a term that I have, in any case, trouble with): individual/communal or even urban/provincial provide, to my mind, more compelling encapsulations of what Grabar's critics presumed — if one wants to stick with binaries. But whatever one may say about Wharton's choice of oppositions, she sets them convincingly in their cultural niche.¹⁶

15. M.-F. Rouan, 'Une lecture "iconoclaste" de la Vie d'Etienne le jeune', *Travaux et Mémoires* 8 (1981) 415-436. Rouan, now publishing as Auzépy, has more to say on this: see below.

16. Wharton's assessment of how we now read Grabar fascinated but did not quite convince me: my students are as TV-literate as hers, and the course I teach on the

Several more articles, and they are among the best of the year, continue the theme of rereading texts about images, but give it a different slant. Auzépy (1990) analyses the texts describing the destruction by Leo III of the image of Christ over the Chalke gate in Constantinople, an event long seen as the opening move of Iconoclasm. She concludes that 'the destruction of the icon of Christ at the Chalke by Leo III never took place, for the excellent reason that this icon did not exist'.¹⁷ Auzépy argues persuasively that the legend of its destruction was constructed around the year 800 to the mutual benefit of the Empress Irene and the patriarch Nikephoros; the narrative almost immediately entered iconophile rhetoric, and has been accepted as historical 'fact' ever since.¹⁸ Meanwhile, James and Webb (1991) have written a near perfect article about ekphrasis.¹⁹ They note that, despite almost exclusive modern usage of the term ekphrasis to mean a description of a 'work of art', it was never restricted to descriptions of images in the classical and Byzantine world. Instead, ekphrasis stressed perceptual understanding of the meaning of an event or object described; it was never intended to provide an objective description, and was usually interwoven into a panegyric narrative. Ekphrasis is thus better read as an expression of spiritual realities than as an archaeological record, a point developed by the authors through analysis of the ekphraseis on the church of the Holy

media (which mostly indicates that no one born before 1960 can do so — I have read Neil Postman and Mark Crispin Miller, but they have watched every rerun of Gilligan's Island and Dynasty; we only truly met on Twin Peaks) has mostly served to convince me that we need the detachment granted by time before we can deconstruct ourselves.

17. '... la destruction de l'icône du Christ de la Chalce par Léon III n'a jamais eu lieu, pour l'excellente raison que cette icône n'existait pas' (491).

18. An edition of one of the texts on which Auzépy relies, the *Breviarium* of Nikephoros, has also appeared: C. Mango, *Nikephoros, Patriarch of Constantinople, Short History* (Washington DC 1990).

19. My only quibble, and it is a minor one, is that they confuse emotional responses in general with certain specific manifestations of emotion, notably tears that the author assures the audience they will shed (i.e. projected tears), which, despite James's and Webb's assertions to the contrary, do not become a standard of image writing until around the year 800. See Brubaker (as in note 9 above) 24-26 and eadem (as in note 11 above) 19-32.

Apostles (Constantine the Rhodian and Nicholas Mesarites) and on the apse mosaic at Hagia Sophia (Photios), all of which interpret rather than record. James' and Webb's discussion of this last monument helps resolve the conflict some earlier scholars perceived between Photios' homily on the apse mosaic at Hagia Sophia and the image now preserved there. This is an issue also dealt with by Kalavrezou (1990), who asks why the Virgin Mary, known as the bearer of God (*theotokos*) from the fourth century, became identified as the mother of God (*meter theou*) in the ninth, and suggests that the iconophile emphasis on Christ's humanity required a stress on Mary as mother. She argues that it was easier to evoke Mary's maternal role in texts than in images, which in her view are less susceptible to change than words, and hence, in her discussion of the Hagia Sophia apse mosaic, proposes that Photios was attempting to 'create a motherly image of the enthroned Theotokos by reading maternal gestures and invoking feelings into the picture that were present in the homiletic tradition by the late ninth century, but not yet in the art' (170). Her thesis complements that of James and Webb, though I suspect that they would not be any happier than I am about the implied tag-along role for imagery: such a role assumes a one-to-one correspondence between the images and texts and, as a result, confuses the function of both.²⁰

On a different but related aspect of the iconography of the Virgin Mary, Mouriki (1991) provides a long and complex study of two icons now at Mount Sinai that focuses more or less equally on the iconography of the Hodegetria and thirteenth-century style. She traces the history of the Hodegetria in some detail, and suggests that it received particular attention in the middle Byzantine period as an expression of Christ's humanity; at this time, too, Mouriki believes the Hodegetria came into its own as an image of protection. One begins to suspect that the Virgin came into *her* own not in 431, as we all once thought, but after

20. As, I am afraid, I have said elsewhere at extreme length: on the Hagia Sophia mosaic, Brubaker (as in note 9 above), 27 note 13.

Iconoclasm. Mouriki sees a period of iconographical experimentation, which she ascribes to the loss of Constantinopolitan control of artistic production, during the Latin occupation; she suggests, however, that the Hodegetria type restabilised in the Palaeologan period, but then with a greater stress on the emotional relationship between the mother and child. Her analysis of thirteenth-century style takes us into another sphere, and it is a measure of the polarisation of art history that Mouriki's article effectively spans two subdisciplines within the field, form and content. As Byzantinists, of all people, should know, these are rarely so neatly bisected. Mouriki does not, however, effect their reunification. She does pose a new formal problem. The style of the two icons on which she concentrates demonstrates a fusion of Byzantine and Latin features; Mouriki carefully distinguishes between these two, and she discovers that some elements traditionally ascribed to western influence were in fact indigenous Byzantine details. The homogeneity of the blending, however, leads her to suggest caution in ascribing panels to Crusader painters without thorough study.

For another indication that we are not seeing as we perhaps should, see James (1991); and for more on Crusader icons, along with comments on female patronage, see Hunt (1991). For more on Greek and Latin (so to speak) relations, see the discussion on Byzantium and Italy below.

* * * * *

Mouriki's formal analysis leads us to a series of articles that consider style and workshop practices. T. Gouma-Peterson's 'The Frescoes of the Parekklesion of St Euthymios in Thessaloniki: Patron, Workshops and Style' in Ćurčić and Mouriki (1991) 111-129, functions as a pendant to her earlier article in *Art Bulletin* 59 (1976). Here she focuses on style, and isolates a mobile but coherent workshop active between roughly 1290 and 1310, responsible for the Pammakaristos monastery (1290-1304), St Clement (1294-95), St Euthymios (1302-03), and the Protaton (ca. 1300). S. Gabelić, 'Diversity in Fresco Painting of the Mid-Fourteenth

Century: The Case of Lesnovo', also in Ćurčić and Mouriki (1991) 187-194, provides straightforward formal analysis, and argues for local painters uninfluenced by trends in Thessaloniki or Constantinople. Finally, D. Mouriki's 'The Wall Paintings of the Pantanassa at Mistra: Models of a Painters' Workshop in the Fifteenth Century,' in Ćurčić and Mouriki (1991) 217-231, first argues that the Pantanassa frescoes (ca. 1430) represent a conscious attempt to outshine earlier cycles at Mistra; then, relying on evidence from Mistra, Crete, and Thessaloniki, Mouriki defines the two major tendencies of Constantinopolitan painting of the first half of the fifteenth century as International Gothic and Italianate. Rather than pointing toward new directions that Byzantine art might have followed had the empire not dissolved in 1453, Mouriki suggests that the frescoes she has considered 'already represent an end in the evolution of Byzantine painting, since they no longer function as images carrying with them the eternal truths of Orthodoxy' (231). R. Ousterhout, 'Constantinople, Bithynia, and Regional Developments in Later Palaeologan Architecture', in Ćurčić and Mouriki (1991) 75-91, provides architectural corollaries. He observes that our understanding of Palaeologan architecture is based largely on constructions dating from the reign of Andronikos II (1282-1328). He is intent on broadening the focus, and, after considering later evidence from Constantinople, turns to outlying regions. Ousterhout is primarily concerned with differentiating between Constantinopolitan exports and local practice, and so he focuses on building technique, which he argues permits more accurate identification of workshops than does design. He finds some evidence for shops from the capital, but more for local builders emulating Constantinopolitan style. He also compares early Ottoman and late Byzantine work in Bithynia, and suggests that one reason for the similarities in construction is that local (Byzantine) workers built for the Ottomans. No one who has ever studied the Dome of the Rock or the Great Mosque at Damascus will be terribly surprised, but Ousterhout provides compelling evidence from the mortar.

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Manuscript studies this past few years have tended to be more overtly theoretical than usual, if somewhat negatively (most gnaw away at earlier theories rather than build new ones), and I have thus treated them as a unit here.

Anderson (1991) argues that James, a monk of the Kokkinobaphos monastery and author of the famous Homilies on the Virgin, was alive or at least considered contemporary when the earliest of the two illustrated copies of the manuscript of his Homilies was made; this, the Paris manuscript (BN gr. 1208), was produced in the 1130s and was copied, with illustrations by the same painter who produced the Seraglio Octateuch, around 1150 for someone in the circle of Irene, wife of Andronikos Komnenos, in the second manuscript (Vat.gr.1162). Anderson notes topical interests, for example falconry, in the illuminated initials. From a broader perspective, Anderson's most interesting comments concern the process of illustrating and copying: the miniaturist responsible for the earlier Paris manuscript eschewed 'mundane illustration' and instead 'brought the text to life' (81); while the Vatican painter (whom Anderson less convincingly identifies as the same miniaturist grown older), added three miniatures and conventionalised some of the images copied from the earlier manuscript. The model/copy relationship confirms Lowden's recent comments on the relationship between models and copies in the Octateuch family, which conclude that copies may 'improve' their model, sometimes substantially.²¹ It also spotlights the types of changes a copyist can make, although Anderson spends little time examining this. He does, however, note that expansive cycles of narrative imagery do not appear until the middle of the eleventh century, and he suggests that the life of the Virgin illuminated in the Kokkinobaphos manuscripts fits into this pattern nicely (95-96). Anderson has thus added yet one more piece to the increasing pile of evidence against earlier manuscript theory (sometimes attributed to the so-called Princeton School, of which Anderson is a product), which, to generalise

21. J. Lowden, 'The Production of the Vatopedi Octateuch', *DOP* 36 (1982) 115-126.

wildly, basically assumed that most long Byzantine picture cycles ultimately derived from early Christian exemplars. A rather unfortunate corollary to this suggested that most of the extensive middle Byzantine cycles reduced even denser early models: we are back to the mid-century tendency, noted toward the beginning of this review and again by Wharton, to search for the original.

In 1989, Vikan considered the relationship between models and their copies from a different angle: he was primarily concerned with *why* the Byzantines copied.²² Vikan suggested that the process of copying paralleled the goal of imitating the lives of saints aspired to by the Byzantines.²³ This tidy juxtaposition illuminates, I suspect, only the tip of the iceberg; still, Vikan's insistence that Byzantinists cease to denigrate copying, explicitly or implicitly,²⁴ and see it instead as part of a larger social system, is surely correct. Vikan does not expand his discussion of copying to an analysis of manuscript theory, and this is a pity, for the old Princeton method — whether or not we now agree with all its tenets — provided a rare and brave example of Byzantine art history theory, and Vikan, another Princeton product, is one of the best qualified scholars to assess it.

The most important publication on manuscripts during the past year also provides material that contradicts much canonical scholarship. This publication is, incontestably, Ševčenko (1990): she has produced a study of the illustrated metaphrastic menologia, and it is a goldmine. The plates are, alas, all in the microfiche form endemic to the series in which the book appears; because of this, however, they are also nearly all in colour, which,

22. See note 4 above.

23. The same desire, it has recently been argued, underlies the popularity of hagiography in Byzantium: S.A. Harvey, 'Women in Early Byzantine Hagiography: Reversing the Story', in L. Coon, K. Haldane, and E. Summers, eds., *'That Gentle Strength': Historical Perspectives on Women and Christianity* (Charlottesville 1990) 36-59. I thank Dr Harvey for allowing me to read this study in typescript.

24. In order to do so, we will also have to divorce ourselves from notions of art as commodity, ideas about the primacy of individual creativity, and various other modern myths that Vikan, who is a resolute pragmatist, does not wish to confront directly.

once one finds a microfiche machine (or even holds the sheets up to a light and squints), compensates. The cost of producing the colour microfiches has the disadvantage of making the book extremely expensive, and few copies were sent out for review; furthermore, the series has been inadequately advertised. The book is thus not as widely known as it should be; this is a pity, for Ševčenko's book supplies the first coherent assessment of all illustrated metaphrastian menologia, and does so in a manner that combines classic scholarship with acute and sometimes iconoclastic insight.

Ševčenko first sets the illustrated menologia within their textual framework and then turns to the miniatures. Metaphrases conceived his menologion as a ten volume set, and of the 850 volumes preserved — originally held in churches, where the lives were read during the morning service, and in private libraries as well — 43 received illustration. Basing her conclusions on palaeographical affiliations as well as on the miniatures themselves, Ševčenko demonstrates that twenty of these originally belonged to seven identifiable editions of the ten volume set; the remaining 23 are single volumes that have lost their nine companions. Virtually all of the thirty illustrated editions date from the second half of the eleventh century, and fall roughly into two groups that are chronologically as well as iconographically distinct. (I am of course deliberately schematising Ševčenko's subtle analysis here in the interests of presenting an overview.) Although the format the illustrators followed in each edition — from frontispiece image only, showing either one saint or many, to a portrait for each life, to historiated initials — shows little consistency, in the 1050s and '60s the saints are generally presented as frontal figures, carefully distinguished as individuals but lacking elaborate settings. In the 1070s and '80s, the individual figures are less scrupulously differentiated, but they are more active — they are, particularly, often shown being martyred — and placed in landscape settings. While Ševčenko tentatively suggests that a monastic milieu might be responsible for the earlier group, she argues more strongly for an imperial source for the later one. The 'martyrdom manuscripts', in particular, are the only ones she sees as

following any tradition independent of 'a vast file of well established portrait types not associated with any particular artistic medium, thoroughly standardised by the mid-eleventh century and available for use for all possible commissions' (188); as they, and nearly all monumental examples with which she associates them, have imperial connections, Ševčenko wonders whether the sequence was meant to invoke the aid of the saints to ensure the success of the realm (191).²⁵ Why martyrdoms rather than portraits seem to have been associated with protection of the empire is not a question on which she speculates.²⁶ In any event, despite the affiliations deduced for this group of menologia, most cycles, when they occur, 'seem to have been expansions on a basic core, images added just because there was extra space at hand' (194); they were invented *ad hoc*: the format led to the creation of new iconography. Ševčenko, in other words, finds little to support earlier suggestions that the menologia images were excerpted from longer narrative cycles of the lives of saints; more broadly, she implicitly denies that illustrated manuscripts were a prime agent in the transmission of iconography, or at least of the iconography of saints.

This latter point is also addressed by J. Lowden, 'Luxury and liturgy; the function of books', in Morris (1990) 263-280. Lowden concentrates on the gospel lectionary, the primary book used in the Byzantine liturgy. He suggests that manuscripts with elaborate decorations were seldom intended to be used on a regular basis, and notes that, indeed, fewer than two per cent of preserved lectionaries contain illustrations. Lectionaries cannot really be seen any longer as major conveyors of 'liturgical' iconography, especially as many of these are not complete lectionaries, but excerpts: they could hardly have been intended for constant use (or even frequent reference). Lowden argues that these luxury lec-

25. She also considers the more concrete function of the images, and concludes that their main purpose was 'to double the volume's sacred value' (205).

26. In the eighth and ninth centuries, emperors were sometimes associated with martyrs, but without additional research I would not care to venture whether or not this is relevant to Ševčenko's argument.

tionaries were probably gifts, placed on display rather like votive offerings; as such, they tell us little about the liturgy, but much about Byzantine attitudes toward decoration. In 1989, J. Cotton, 'On Some Illustrations in the Lectionary, Athos, Dionysiou 587', *B* 59, 5-19 threw yet another spanner in the works, by questioning the date traditionally ascribed to that lectionary, ca. 1059, and, more important here, by suggesting that the manuscript may not be a monastic product. This raises further questions about the validity of identifying a 'monastic' stylistic current in eleventh-century painting,²⁷ as also about the role of the illustrated lectionary.

Rather than forcing revisions of our paradigms, other manuscript studies published during the past year augment our understanding of individual manuscripts. Wolska-Conus (1990) incorporates some recent scholarship into her original assessment of the illustrations of the middle Byzantine manuscripts of the *Christian Topography*, extends her comments on the relationship between these images and those that apparently accompanied an Alexandrian World Chronicle now known only through the *Barbarus Scaligeri* (Paris. lat. 4884), and reminds those authors who have used the *Topography* illustrations primarily as an iconographical repository that they were created for specific reasons and in a specific context. Further, in 'Stéphanos d'Athènes et Stéphanos d'Alexandrie: Essai d'identification et de bibliographie', *REB* 47 (1989) 5-89, especially 28-30, she has ended centuries of speculation by convincingly identifying the actual author of the *Christian Topography*. We may now discard the

27. As first proposed by K. Weitzmann, 'Byzantine Miniature and Icon Painting in the Eleventh Century', *The Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies* (London 1967) 207-224 (reprinted in Weitzmann's collected works, and in H.L. Kessler, ed., *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript illumination* (Chicago 1971). The thesis had earlier been questioned by, among others, C. Mango, 'Lo stile cosiddetto "monastico" della pittura bizantina', *Habitat — Structure — Territorio*, Atti del III Convegno internazionale di studio sulla civiltà rupestre medioevale nel mezzogiorno d'Italia (Galatina 1978) 45-62; and A.P. Kazhdan and A.W. Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Berkeley 1985).

eleventh-century invention, Cosmas Indicopleustes, in favour of one Constantine of Antioch. Papadaki-Oekland (1990) is reprinted, this time with the required plates, from the previous issue of *BZ*, and concerns f.26r of Vat.gr.751, a densely illustrated Job manuscript of ca.1200. Papadaki-Oekland identifies the city viewed by Job on his dung heap as Constantinople, a city portrait that includes the earliest preserved image of Justinian's column and a view of Hagia Sophia. She focuses on a close comparison between texts that describe the column and the image itself, and her conclusions are entirely convincing. For a discussion of *why* Job confronts Constantinople, we shall, however, have to await Papadaki-Oekland's promised forthcoming study of the manuscript.

* * * * *

The relationship between Italy and Byzantium, a problem that has in recent years exercised a number of scholars studying the Byzantine period, continues to receive attention. Following publication of the results of carbon dating at Sta Maria at Castelseprio (*Gesta* 26 [1987]), which placed the church between the last quarter of the eighth and the first half of the tenth century, Leveto (1990) considers the programme of decoration, and concludes that the apse wall of Sta Maria focused not on Christ, as has been widely assumed, but on Mary. Leveto's arguments rely heavily on her plausible reconstruction of two almost completely lost scenes as the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple and Joachim's rejected offerings. From these, and the better preserved scenes, Leveto reads a programme that displays Mary as a type of church and as a figure of redemption, assumptions Leveto also traces in eighth- and ninth-century Latin texts. Leveto stops short, however, of disassociating Castelseprio from the Byzantine sphere altogether; instead, she rather curiously proposes that although Castelseprio is iconographically closer to Carolingian monuments than to Byzantine ones, all — Castelseprio, the Carolingian and the Byzantine works — descend from common models. This latter point is not one on which

Leveto concentrates, and she seems unfamiliar with some of the better recent publications on the connections between Italy and Byzantium. For a more coherent assessment of this relationship, we may turn to Osborne (1990), who provides further evidence that Byzantine illuminated letters were imported from the West,²⁸ and convincingly identifies one means of transmission. He notes that illuminators in Rome demonstrated an interest in northern initial forms by the late eighth century, and that these were translated into Greek letter forms by the illuminator responsible for Vat.gr.1666, which we know from its colophon to have been written in Rome in AD 800. The logical assumption that Greek-writing scribes active in western Europe, most evidently in the Byzantine enclaves of Italy, first attached western initial forms onto Greek letters thus acquires a focal point, Rome, and a relatively tight chronology.

Cappadocia has also received attention. Jolivet-Lévy (1991) has produced a big book on the churches of the region that provides descriptions and an admirable synthesis of the scholarly literature, but supplies few conclusions. Her intended focus is on what she calls the 'functional iconography' of the apse programmes, though there is in fact more description (often of churches that have been repeatedly described in the past) than analysis. She reads the apse programmes broadly as hagiographical — with the emphasis on military rather than ascetic or monastic saints — and, especially, liturgical. Jolivet-Lévy notes the early (second quarter of the tenth century) incorporation of church fathers into the apse programme, and the popularity of the majestas; she argues that Isaiah or Ezekiel receiving the burning coal as part of the majestas was a typological image of the eucharist that originated in Cappadocia. She does not, however, exploit the evidence provided by the Isaiah and Ezekiel miniatures in the ninth-century *Christian Topography* in the Vatican (gr.699), a manuscript that is assuredly not from Cappadocia but that is earlier than any monumental Cappado-

28. On which see also my article in *Scriptorium* 45 (1991) 22-46, not included here as the issue had not yet appeared when *BMGS* went to press.

cian examples; she also fails to consider what liturgy was used in these chapels, how the chapels themselves functioned, or the actual audience for the images. Given the paucity of documents from the area, these latter are admittedly difficult questions to answer, but they have been tackled by other scholars, most comprehensively by L. Rodley, *Cave Monasteries of Byzantine Cappadocia* (Cambridge 1985).

Other programmes of decoration have been studied this year as well. Connor (1991) proves that you cannot judge a book by its cover, which in this case omits the subtitle entirely: only upon opening does the reader discover the actual subject, the crypt paintings at Hosios Loukas. Connor has done Byzantinists a great service by providing high quality reproductions of these paintings, many in colour, along with detailed descriptions. She argues that the crypt functioned as a funerary chapel — hence the pictorial themes of salvation and intercession — and cites the Life of Saint Luke as evidence for the later use of the crypt as a healing site and a place for commemorative and memorial services. Less convincing is Connor's belief that the Life describes the present structure of the building, and that the paintings should therefore be redated to the third quarter of the tenth century.²⁹ J. Yiannias, 'The Palaeologan Refectory Programme at Apollonia', in Ćurčić and Mouriki (1991) 161-174, reidentifies a number of scenes in this central Albanian monument, and expands our understanding of the programme as a visualisation of themes expressed in the Lenten liturgy, notably abstinence and self control. He suggests that Apollonia may reflect a more or less standard programme

29. It must be said, however parenthetically, that one is not encouraged by the fact that the book is technically sloppy — for example, Bačkovo is treated as a different place from Bačkovo (74-75, 88-89), and one lengthy passage from the Life is quoted twice (77, 108) — and at times methodologically unsophisticated: secondary sources are cited when primary sources are readily accessible (55-56, 117), style and iconography are sometimes confused (64-66), some arguments defy logic (52, on Athanasios) or perpetuate genuine errors (as when the Menologion of Basil II is apparently read as representative of metaphrastian menologia when it is neither representative nor metaphrastian); and why cite Krautheimer on the mosaics of San Marco rather than Demus?

of refectory decoration compiled from borrowed images selected to avoid repetition with scenes presented in the monastic church.

Patterns of patronage have also been studied by M. Rautman, 'Aspects of Monastic Patronage in Pálaeologan Macedonia', in Ćurčić and Mouriki (1991) 53-74. Rautman concentrates on Thessaloniki, and suggests that legislation restricting new monastic foundations, coupled with a destabilised social framework caused by Serbian expansion, had two results: local secular donors patronised Constantinopolitan and Athonite foundations while restricting their local funding to pre-existing monasteries; and such new foundations as were established had either what Rautman terms 'career monastics', or Serbians — King Milutin, for example — as patrons. I would, myself, like to know more about the motivations of the former group; Rautman interprets the Serbian insertions as a manifestation of creeping colonial expansion.

And a church has been newly published. Mango, Hawkins, and Boyd (1990) have published a detailed description of the architecture and decoration of the two Byzantine churches surviving from the Chrysostom monastery at Koutsovendis on Cyprus. The south church (ca.1090) was already dilapidated by the eighteenth century; the north church (ca.1100), however, was largely intact in the 1960s, when the field work reported here was carried out,³⁰ and retained much of its fresco decoration, meticulously described by Boyd. The article includes 186 black and white photographs and eight colour plates.

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Interest in the material culture of daily life has been steadily increasing over the past ten years, and publication of several papers originally delivered at the Symposium on the Byzantine Family and Household (Dumbarton Oaks, 1989) augments the growing body of material considerably. Oikonomidès (1990) looks

30. Though access is now restricted, Cormack's recent visit (reported by the authors) suggests that the paintings, though covered, remain intact.

inside Byzantine middle-class houses. He examines fourteen exhaustive inventories, dating between 1017 and 1401, that tell us, among other things, that icons were apparently less expensive than a good silk blanket, and that most post-iconoclastic Byzantine houses had neither beds nor tables, but platforms along three walls of the main room that served as both (an arrangement that still prevails in parts of Eastern Europe) — hence, perhaps, *triklinion* (literally, three couches) to designate a dining room. Further, and for this all art historians can think of numerous visual corroborations, the middle Byzantine household made do without flatware or individual plates: all members of the household ate communally from the serving bowl. Vikan (1990) establishes three discrete types of wedding rings worn by wealthy Byzantines, clustered in the fifth, sixth, and seventh century respectively. All are ultimately dependent on coin formulas, and related to earlier Roman examples, but they increasingly imply, through inscriptions, an inscribed cross, or, in the latest group, the inclusion of Christ, that marital concord is a gift of God. The groups also allow Vikan to highlight changes in the function of Byzantine rings, from at least potentially functional signet rings to amuletic rings that promoted healthy procreation. The article thus forms a thematic pendant to Vikan's earlier 'Art, Medicine, and Magic in Early Byzantium', *DOP* 38 (1984) 65-86. Maguire (1990) returns to his examination of domestic design and expands some ideas presented by E.D. Maguire, H. Maguire, and M.J. Duncan-Flowers, in *Art and Holy Powers in the Early Christian House*, Illinois Byzantine Studies II (Urbana 1989). In the more recent article, he focuses on textiles and argues that while they may function physically as material protection, the designs on them were often equally important — as indicators of status, protectors against evil, or attractors of good fortune. Maguire's assessment of the well-known Joseph textiles is the most significant addition to material collected in the earlier book: he suggests that images of Joseph, who triumphed over ill-will and envy, served to protect their wearers — usually, like Joseph, children. — from evil.

N.B. On textiles, see also Muthesius (1991). For more on Joseph, see Gauthier-Walter (1990), who supplies a broad iconographical study of Joseph imagery and suggests that Joseph served as a type of ideal ruler in both medieval Byzantium and the Latin west. Though she follows without question methodological approaches that many scholars have long since abandoned, and seems unaware of bibliography that would in fact support her arguments, her general conclusions seem to me plausible. She is certainly broadly correct in her interpretation of the Joseph page in the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus in Paris (gr.510), the monument on which she spends most time.³¹

The material culture of public spaces, equally important, has not been neglected. M. Mundell Mango, 'The uses of liturgical silver, 4th-7th centuries', in Morris (1990) 245-261, assesses three functions of church silver: liturgical, votive, and economic. She provides a useful summary for art historians, who are not always as familiar as they might be with the economic, non-liturgical or non-aesthetic uses to which church silver could be put. In particular, Mundell Mango confirms a suggestion she credits to Grierson that churches acted as a sort of banking system, holding domestic silver for its monetary value and lending money when necessary. Moving from the church to the baths and back again, P. Magdalino, 'Church, bath and *diakonia* in medieval Constantinople', also in Morris (1990) 165-188, argues persuasively that, beginning in the fifth century, the ritual bath (*lousma*) in a *diakonia* drove the public baths (*thermae*) out of business; this process crystallised in the sixth century, with the result that Byzantine bathing was henceforth tinged with religious associations. Back on the streets, Saradi-Mendelovici (1990) considers the Byzantine response to late antique pagan monuments, and suggests that it was more ambivalent than Mango assumed in his by-now classic article 'Antique Statuary and the Byzantine Beholder' (*DOP* 17 [1963] 55-75). Her remarks also supply a useful context for our understanding of the *Parastaseis* and *Patria*. Though Saradi-Mendelovici exhibits a somewhat curious attitude toward popular culture and especially the whole concept of what

31. The evidence, which is more complex than Gauthier-Walter imagines, will shortly appear in my monograph on Paris. gr. 510.

she calls 'superstition', the article contains much fascinating raw material, and includes an important discussion of the Byzantine aesthetic appreciation for what appear to us as haphazard insertions of pagan materials (52-53) which should be read in conjunction with M. Greenhalgh, *The Survival of Roman Antiquities in the Middle Ages* (London 1989).³²

In this same vein, two articles attempt to bridge the gap between art history and archaeology. V. Zalesskaya, 'Byzantine white-clay painted bowls and cylix-type cups', in Morris (1990) 215-224, discusses a group of vessels dating from the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries; she suggests that those decorated with crosses were used in special baptismal rites, and attributes the fact that most examples have been recovered on the fringes of Byzantium as evidence that they were used by missionaries. R. Loverance, 'Early Byzantine marble church furnishings: some examples from the episcopal basilica of Kourion in Cyprus', also in Morris (1990) 225-243, describes the marble finds, focussing on table tops (round, rectangular, and sigma-shaped) and legs. The sigma-shaped tops have rough undersides, suggesting that they were wedged into niches; the others are smooth overall and presumably stood on legs or pedestals. One rectangular top was apparently the offering table in the *diakonikon*; another may have been the altar.

* * * * *

So what do these forty-odd books and articles tell us? First, the sheer number of publications demonstrates that however insecure Byzantinists may feel (or claim to feel) about the relevance of their work, few trees or library budgets have profited. Indeed, the publications under review leave an overall impression of critical re-assessment that is more suggestive of crotchety good health than of terminal illness. To be sure, there are scholars represented

32. I thank Chris Wickham for this reference, and also for his comments on an earlier draft of this article.

here who carry on as if nothing had happened in the past thirty years, as if they were part of some strange isolated world untouched by the intellectual life around them; and there are also authors who are very much grounded in the intellectual debates of the present, the relevance of which to our understanding of the past is not always clear. Most of us, however, float between these parallel universes. Over half of the publications considered are concerned with filling out traditional frameworks rather than with stimulating new ones.³³ There are nonetheless a number of new questions being asked of the material, and the responses to these questions have resulted in new interpretations that are changing the parameters and paradigms of Byzantine art history.

Much of the re-assessment that is currently under way is the direct or indirect result of a shift in focus that has affected many areas of art history. The realisation that traditional art history methodology, as developed in the nineteenth century, is of limited use has gone hand in hand with the creation of new approaches with less restrictive (or at least different) agendas.³⁴ For Byzantinists, the shedding of paradigms developed in response to a world quite different from that of the medieval Mediterranean and middle east has been liberating. It has been a particular relief to discard the evolutionary Renaissance paradigm invented by nineteenth-century scholars, which imposed cyclic development along with linear progress, and really did see individual men and their creative genius as a measure of all things.

It is release from this structure that underpins several of the recurring themes we have just seen. The re-evaluation of the role of copying is related to a new understanding that creativity and individuality are culture-bound concepts, not absolutes; and they are concepts that the Byzantines did not express by promoting either art for its own sake or the cult of the individual (and

33. I do not mean by this to disparage the empirical presentation of material, though it is, I am sure, all too clear from my presentation that I believe that this approach is the beginning rather than the goal of scholarship.

34. M. Podro, *The Critical Historians of Art* (New Haven 1982) provides an account of the founders of the discipline, their philosophies, and their contributions.

therefore self-consciously unique) artist. No one would deny that different Byzantine artisans communicated differently: copies of (for example) paintings are not identical with their models, and this is surely in part due to the initiative of the painter — it's just that the individual creativity of the painter was not charged with heavy cultural significance. There is thus little reason to stress the relationship of the producer with the object over the relationship of the viewer with the object.³⁵ The viewer/object relationship, no longer mediated by problems of originality (and the parallel issue of art as a commodity),³⁶ is thus quite different in the Byzantine world from what it was in the nineteenth-century world inhabited by the creators of the discipline of art history. While one could argue that the anthropological axiom that function defines meaning is applicable to all images, the active interaction between viewer and object in Byzantium suggests that we look at function in a very particularised way. It is, confusingly, both similar to and different from our own characterisation of the function of images. Byzantine imagery had meaning that was, on the one hand, almost taken for granted and internalised without thought; this is comprehensible to us, for it recurs in modern advertising, albeit with a different driving force. But, on the other hand, Byzantine images were conventionally credited with an access to the supernatural (spiritual or malevolent; saints or demons); and this is beyond most of our experiences, unless we rather facilely substitute psychology for the supernatural. The current assessment of Byzantine images suggests that the active, interactive role of imagery was widely understood, both by individual Byzantines and by the society as a generic whole: the

35. For this reason, I would argue that *pure* connoisseurship is essentially irrelevant to Byzantine art history (though not to the art market); but I would also argue strongly for the re-integration of stylistic analysis into a broader context — indeed, I think that the segregation of form and content in most studies of Byzantine imagery is extremely problematic.

36. On which see Benjamin, as in note 5 above, and, perhaps more accessibly, J. Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London 1972) who summarises, popularises (in a 70s way that is now rather endearing), and updates Benjamin's points.

function/meaning had consequences for the structure of that society that transcended mundane concerns. It is the recognition of the particular nature of the interactive and affective roles of images in Byzantium that has led to the re-evaluation of the relationship between object and viewer, and image and word/text, among others. Our increasing respect for the qualified power of the visual, coupled with the realisation that 'high art' only tells part of the story (and this we can credit to feminist scholarship and the *Annales* School in France as well as to the fall of the nineteenth-century paradigms that governed traditional art history), helps explain the sudden emergence of material culture as worthy of study by art historians.

Another shift in the focus of Byzantine art history, related to the re-evaluation of copying as a process, follows changes in our own perception of the world. The collapse of any meaningful qualitative distinction between original and copy — the original now has value because it is known through reproduction, not primarily for itself — postulated by, especially, Benjamin had repercussions already in Krautheimer's 'Iconography of Medieval Architecture', and is implicit in much recent scholarship. As noted several times in the course of this article, recent scholarship no longer studies later images primarily to reconstruct earlier monuments: the search for sources (the original) has either been ignored or replaced by an attempt to understand what the changes from the original signify. The copies, in fact, are more important than the originals, for they spotlight values of importance to the actual audience. Concomitantly, the re-evaluation of the original/copy relationship throws into question the whole concept of Byzantine 'renaissances' — a topic on which much ink was spilled until about 1985, after which the concept seems, quite rightly in my opinion, to have been largely abandoned by Byzantine art historians.

The parameters of what constitutes Byzantine art history are, certainly, changing; and the paradigms on which most traditionally trained art historians cut their teeth no longer have bite. What seems to be emerging in their place is an emphasis on function(s), broadly defined to embrace, among others, material and spiritual,

private and public, perceived and actual, conventional and real. If we want to study the functions of Byzantine images beyond certain prescribed limits, however, we are going to need more information about audiences (gender and geography both, for example, need attention), and about how the objects were situated and used. Anthropology has exercised its lure on Byzantinists, but none of us could replicate Bourdieu's *Distinctions* for Byzantium, let alone his 'The Kabyle House or the World Reversed'.³⁷ We don't have the information: we need, for example, to excavate a lot of Byzantine houses in order to put domestic objects into some kind of relevant context that will clarify their multiple functions. Basically, we don't know very much about Byzantine space, interior or exterior. Where did people keep things? How did they move about in even those architectural spaces we do know about? (Has anyone talked about this since Mathews?) What did that mean to them? What did space have to do with status? If the ability to generate a lot of unanswered questions signals health, then Byzantine art history is alive and kicking.

Wheaton College (Norton, Massachusetts)
Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies,
University of Birmingham

37. Recently reprinted in revised form in P. Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, trans. R. Nice (Oxford 1990) 271-283.

Reading the garden in Byzantium: nature and sexuality¹

CHARLES BARBER

The subject of the Byzantine garden is primarily to be tackled from texts, and is very much a subject of its texts.² My research on the Byzantine garden began from an art historian's point of view, I wanted to examine the possibilities of interpreting the garden as an example of visual culture. How was the garden represented? What did the garden look like? But the information demanded by such questions proved to be thin.

I can demonstrate something of this lack of evidence by introducing the material that is available on Theophilos' palace at

1. My thanks for discussion of this paper must go to Margaret Mullett, Leslie Brubaker, and the *Defining Byzantium* Seminar at the Warburg Institute. I would also like to acknowledge the British Academy for their support. This article was written during my tenure of a Post-doctoral Fellowship at the Warburg Institute.

2. Attempts to reconstruct the Byzantine garden are rare and founder on the lack of material; see H. Maguire, 'A description of the Aretai palace and its garden', *Journal of Garden History* 10 (1990) 209-213 for an attempt at identifying a garden description with an actual garden. The most useful survey is provided by M. L. Gothein, *Geschichte der Gartenkunst* I (Jena 1914) 143-148. See also Margaret H. Thomson, *The Symbolic Garden: Reflections drawn from a garden of virtues: a XIIth century Greek manuscript* (Ontario 1989) and *eadem*, *Textes grecs inédits relatifs aux plantes* (Paris 1955) and *eadem*, *Le jardin symbolique. Texte grec tiré du Clarkinius XI* (Paris 1960) for identifications of plants with virtues within a Biblical and medical framework. The textuality of the garden is most clearly shown in the works of O. Schissel, *Der byzantinische Garten* (Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Sitzungsberichte 221.2, 1942); A. R. Littlewood, 'Romantic Paradises: the rôle of the garden in the Byzantine romance', *BMGS* 5 (1979) 95-114; and R. Beaton, *The Medieval Greek Romance* (Cambridge 1989). This study owes a great deal to the work of Beaton, for his positive discussion of artifice, and of Littlewood, for his discussion of the erotic.

Bryas.³ The Emperor Theophilus was the last of the Byzantine Iconoclast Emperors. He reigned from 829-842. History has given him a reputation for justice and taste. He had a great appeal to the positivist minds that gave a shape to the modern perception of Byzantium.⁴ Theophilus had the Bryas palace built for him on the Asiatic shoreline of the Sea of Marmara. This building should provide a compelling combination of archaeological and textual evidence from which to begin an analysis of the Byzantine garden. Substantial remains are still visible of the palace. Some of the exterior walls survive and there are significant traces of the core ceremonial rooms. However, no thorough archaeological investigation has been made of the site. Therefore any account of this palace continues to lack utilisable material evidence to match the textual evidence.

The lack of material evidence from Bryas is a matter of some regret, as the texts discussing the palace provide some important evidence for the history of the Byzantine garden. The texts indicate that the palace was built (probably c830) following the return of a Byzantine embassy to the Abbasid Caliphate at Baghdad. The leading figure of this embassy, the influential John the Grammarian, brought with him the knowledge of Arab palaces with which he was able to advise Theophilus' architect, one Patrikes, on the design of the Bryas palace.⁵ The chronicles make clear that the palace was based upon the models of Saracen, as the Arabs were known, palaces. The importance of this influence for the garden historian lies in the fact that the chroniclers

3. Texts on the Bryas palace are cited in R. Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine* (Paris 1964) 146-147 and 492. Archaeological reports: S. Eyice, 'Quatre édifices inédits ou mal connus', *Cahiers Archéologiques* 10 (1959) 245-258 and *idem*, 'Un palais construit d'après les plans des palais Abbasides: le palais de Bryas', *Bulletin* 23 (1959) 79-99. Further discussion in A. Grabar, *Iconoclasm byzantin* (Paris 1984) 167-210.

4. An example is provided by J. B. Bury, *A History of the Eastern Roman Empire: from the Fall of Irene to the Accession of Basil I AD 802-867* (London 1912) 120-124.

5. Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia* (in: *Theophanes Continuatus, Ioannes Cameniata, Symeon Magister, Georgius Monachus*, ed. I. Bekker [CSHB 48, Bonn 1838] 1-481) 95.19-99.3, esp. 98.14-99.3.

specifically mention the gardens of the palace.⁶ These are called *παράδεισος*. The use of the term suggests that the author of the chronicle wishes to stress the eastern influence upon the Bryas project. For instance, the term had been applied to eastern gardens in the Chronicle of Theophanes, notably in the account of the building projects of the Ummayyad Caliph Hisham in 723-724.⁷

The texts seem to indicate that the Bryas palace and its gardens are based on Arab designs. The evaluation of these indications is somewhat hampered by the lack of knowledge of the actual layout of the Bryas gardens. That there might have been oriental influence upon Byzantine tastes at this time is not improbable. In the fields of textiles, silverware, architecture and automata it can be argued that Byzantium and the Caliphate shared a similar nostalgic taste for Sassanian styles of design.⁸ The powerful Caliphate has been designated the source for this taste, an opinion that would support the chroniclers' interpretations of the sources for the Bryas palace.⁹

But such a model of Arab influence needs some assessment. First, the nature of the chronicles themselves needs to be called into question. The chronicles that supply the information were compiled in the tenth century under the auspices of the Macedonian dynasty, the successor dynasty to Theophilos' Amorion dynasty. The Macedonians were not unwilling to besmirch the name of their predecessor dynasty. The character assassination of Michael III, the last of the Amorians, in the *Vita Basilii*,

6. The texts are those of Symeon Magister, *Chronographia* (in: CSHB 48, see note 5), 634.17-19; Georgius Monachus (see note 5) 798.22-23; Leo Grammaticus, *Chronographia* (in: *Leo Grammaticus, Eustathius*, ed. I. Bekker [CSHB 34, Bonn 1842], 1-331) 221.3-4.

7. Theophanes, *Chronographia* 1, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig 1883) 403.26. The connotations of this term lie both with palace gardens and with Eden.

8. A. Grabar and O. Grabar, 'L'essor des arts inspirés par les cours princières à la fin du premier millénaire: princes musulmans et princes chrétiens', *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo* 12: *L'Occidente e l'Islam nell'alto medioevo 1964* (Spoleto 1965) and O. Grabar, *The Formation of Islamic Art* (Yale 1987).

9. A. Grabar and O. Grabar, *art. cit.* 874; A. Grabar, *Iconoclasme* 191-193; the Arab influence is made clear in Theophanes, see note 5.

parallels his actual assassination at the hands of Basil I the founder of the Macedonian dynasty.¹⁰ A more subtle critique can be read into the account of the Bryas palace which comes from the same chronicle as supplies the *Vita Basilii*. The chronicle notes that the palace was influenced by John the Grammarian. This figure became Patriarch of Constantinople under Theophilos and was the chief mover behind that Emperor's return to a strong Iconoclastic policy. Not only is the Bryas designed by a heretic, but that heretic's designs are drawn from the Arab world. It should be remembered that to name anything as Saracen in the period of Iconoclasm was to taint it with the brush of being alien. In the war of words that surrounded that long-running battle over the place of images in worship the word Saracen was used by both sides in the debate as a term of abuse for their opponents. Both the iconophile John of Damascus and the iconoclast Leo III were so labelled by their enemies.¹¹ To call the Bryas palace a Saracen building might well be interpreted as a means of criticising Theophilos for allowing foreign and heretical ideas to enter his court.

There is reason to be wary of the identification of the direction of influence from the Caliphate to Byzantium, suggested in the chronicles and supported by some recent writers. Within the Great Palace at Constantinople Theophilos carried out an extensive programme of rebuilding. He built new reception areas, the heart of the ceremonial so important to the maintenance of court life and structures. Attached to one of these halls was a room known as the Pearl (Μαργαρίτου). This was a magnificent room of fine Proconnesian marbles, opus sectile and gold. Linked to this reception hall was the Emperor's summer bedchamber. The building's construction belongs to the 830s. In 859 the Abbasid

10. On this character assassination see R. Jenkins, 'Constantine VII's portrait of Michael III', *Bulletin de l'Académie royale de Belgique* 34 (1948) 71-77. For a lengthier treatment see A. Toynbee, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus and his World* (Oxford 1973) 582ff.

11. For this description of John of Damascus see Mansi 12.356D. For Leo III see Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 405.14.

Caliph, al-Mutawakkil, copied this building at a cost of five million drachmas.¹² This action raises a question about the identification of the direction of the flow of cultural influence in Arab-Byzantine relations at this time. It suggests that any model of influence needs to be a complex one.

So, a re-reading of the chronicles and a reconsideration of the evidence of influence perhaps opens the way to casting doubt upon an understanding of the Bryas palace and its gardens as an example of Abbasid culture transplanted to Byzantium. Neither the ruins of the Bryas palace nor the texts that directly relate to it give much comfort in the pursuit of the Byzantine garden. What they point to is the narrow quality of the knowledge available on this subject. Rather than attempting to reconstruct from the surviving garden texts some notion of an actual Byzantine garden, this paper will examine the uses of the garden within the texts themselves.

Nature and Artifice

The gardens created by Theophilos within the Great Palace at Constantinople provide a starting point for a consideration of these verbal representations of the garden. All that is told of these palace gardens is that they contained a number of buildings. These kiosks were magnificent structures. Marble and mosaic predominated. In two of the pavilions the decorations are described in more detail. Within the pavilion known as the Kamilas the mosaic showed fruit being picked.¹³ Within a further room were depictions of trees and vegetal forms.¹⁴ The designers of these decorations appear to be setting up a juxtaposition of representations of scenes from nature and the actual natural environment. As will be shown below, this apposition of art and nature is a standard device of Byzantine verbal representations of the garden.

12. The palace design is described in Theophanes Continuatus, 139ff., tr. C. Mango, in *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312-1453* (Toronto 1986) 160-165. On al-Mutawakkil see A. Musil, *Kusejr Amra* I (Vienna 1907) 233.

13. Theophanes Continuatus, 145.2-3.

14. *ibid.* 145.16-18.

The Byzantine romance genre presents an exotic and at times a highly erotic variant upon the boy meets girl theme.¹⁵ The garden of this romance literature is replete with sculpture, automata, fountains and pictures. These gardens could almost be said to be designed for the housing of art objects, and it is these objects that predominate when the text turns to description of the garden.¹⁶ The garden also plays a crucial role as the theatre for the erotic encounters within the stories. But before turning to these encounters, I want to discuss their setting.

A predominant feature of the garden is the fountain at its centre. It is from here that the garden is watered. The description of the fountain can be both lengthy and detailed. In the twelfth-century tale of *Drosilla and Charikles* half of the garden description is taken up by the discussion of the fountain.¹⁷ The description of the fountain in *Hysmine and Hysminias*, also of the twelfth century, is particularly magnificent. The fountain consisted of a basin, about four ells deep. From the centre of this basin rose a column with a capital. On top of the capital sat a golden eagle. The water flowed through this and fell back upon it, as if the bird were bathing there. Below this a goat drank from the basin as a goatherd milked her, a hare had its chin washed in a jet of water and various birds were dotted around the water.¹⁸ All of these creatures are man made. What this toy suggests is a delight in artifice. A taste which was echoed in the mechanical gadgets reportedly to be found at the courts of Theophilos and Constan-

15. For a full discussion of this genre of literature see R. Beaton, *The Medieval Greek Romance* (Cambridge 1989).

16. This is particularly emphasised in Schissel, *Der byzantinische Garten*, (see note 2 above) esp. 23-24.

17. Niketas Eugenianos, *Drosilla and Charikles* I, 77-115, in R. Hercher, ed., *Erotici scriptores graeci* II (Leipzig 1859) 435-552.

18. Eustathios Makrembolites, *Hysmine and Hysminias* IV.9, in I. Hilberg, ed., *Εὐσταθίου Πρωτονοβελισμίου τοῦ Μακρεμβολίτου τῶν καθ' Ὑσμίνην καὶ Ὑσμινίαν λόγοι ια'*. (Vienna 1876).

tine VII.¹⁹ Theophilos, for instance, had an artificial tree set up in the Great Palace. This device of gold and silver had mechanical birds within its branches. These birds sang. Nor were admiring descriptions of fountains restricted to the romance literature. In the *Vita Basilii* a lengthy description is given of fountains set up by Basil within the Great Palace; descriptions that are certainly more detailed than those of his gardens there.²⁰ Both the tree of Theophilos and the length of the descriptions of fountains indicate that pleasure is taken in the artificial constructions of man within the garden setting.

Sculpture, paintings and beautiful buildings also predominate in the Byzantine descriptions of their fictional gardens. One of the more telling examples is the lengthy description of the series of paintings of the seasons that were displayed upon the walls of the garden of Hysmine's father.²¹ Hysminias and his friend Kratisthenes discuss these panels, finding in them a warning about the progress of time. The scenes are dominated by male figures that carry the allegorical weight of the imagery. For instance, the discussion of April focuses upon a description of the clothing of the figure and upon his role as a goatherd. This representation through the male figure of time in nature is suggestive of the manner in which nature could be viewed in this society. Primarily this is a view that emphasises the control of man over nature, best represented in man's artistry.²²

Above the panels of the seasons is written, 'gazing at these men you see the whole of time'.²³ The seasons of nature are to be seen in their complete state upon the walls of the garden. In this

19. Various reports of these gadgets can be found. For Theophilos see Leo Grammaticus, 215.12-19. For Constantine Porphyrogenitus see the famous description given by Liudprand of Cremona, *Antapodosis*, ed. J. Becker (Hannover 1915) V.8. For a lengthy discussion of the place of automata in Byzantium see G. Brett, 'The automata in the Byzantine Throne of Solomon', *Speculum* 29 (1954) 477-487.

20. In Theopphanes Continuatus, there are twenty lines on the fountains (327.4-328.2) and six lines on the gardens (328.21-329.3).

21. Eustathios Makrembolites, *op. cit.*, IV.4-16.

22. For a stimulating discussion of the relationship of art and nature see Beaton, *op. cit.* 62-66, 71-73, 144-146.

23. Eustathios Makrembolites, *op. cit.*, IV.17.

form they are translated into the activities of men within nature, whether it is hunting, sowing or reaping. These activities give a sense of order to changes within nature through the year. The artistic representation of the seasons upon the walls provides a metaphor for the understood ordering of the natural world in accordance with male discourse. The hand of the artificer, the man active within nature, controls nature, setting its bounds. The timelessness of this order is made apparent in the artifice with which nature is represented and praised. Artifice is understood to surpass the decay of the natural world. This vision is stated most clearly in the fourteenth-century tale of *Belthandros and Chrysantza*, in which trees are praised for appearing as if turned upon a lathe by a craftsman.²⁴ Nature is at its most worthy when it can be enclosed within the shaping hand of the craftsman.

The physical presence of artifice noted in the above instances from the romances appears under another guise in a pair of descriptions apparently much more clearly focused upon the garden for its own sake. John Geometres' two letters on the subject of his garden give some notion of the tenth century's attitude to its gardens.²⁵ These two descriptions are of his garden at the centre of the world, in probably the most desirable part of the city of Constantinople.

Two features dominate the rhetor's discourse. The wall around his garden and his doubts over the possibility of containing his description of this garden within the constraints of good literary form. These two themes are not unconnected.

The wall that encloses Geometres' garden is amply described in both letters. In the second letter he tells of how it is made to fit in with his house. Indeed, in places the house and the out-buildings form a part of the wall. Where the wall is of stone Geometres assures his audience of the artistry of the carving and

24. *Belthandros and Chrysantza*. 11. 289-290, in E. Kriaras, *Βυζαντινὰ ἱστορικά μυθιστορήματα*. Βασικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη (Athens 1955) 85-130.

25. A. R. Littlewood, *The Progymnasmata of Ioannes Geometres* (Amsterdam 1972) 7-9 and 10-13.

of the perfection of the joins.²⁶ The wall encloses the garden, its perfection seeming to form a seal. He points out that outside lies the wilderness. In the first letter Geometres defines this wall.²⁷ Its role is to curb the effects of nature which lies beyond. The wall is primarily a barrier against the excesses of nature. Both the keen north wind and the strong south wind are tempered by it. The wall also proves efficacious in subduing the sharp frost's attack on the flower and the excessive summer's heat's shrivelling of the young shoot. The wall is thus a model of moderation. Its value lies in its ability to control the space occupied by the garden, protecting it from the possible hazards proffered by nature. Gentle breezes and sufficient water then guarantee the fruitfulness of the plants within the garden. Within these enclosing walls the rhetor is able to philosophise.

In his description of his garden Geometres wrestles to control his language, to attune his description to the demands of his verbal art. At the end of the second letter he offers a lengthy apology for his rhetorical failings.²⁸ This he blames upon the subject matter of his discourse. There is so much to describe in his garden that he has already broken the boundaries of length suitable to his descriptive art. He has had to compromise his art in order to represent to his friend the garden that he wishes to describe. This has not prevented Geometres from weaving his words and borrowed words into the evocation of the garden. Allusion to Homer reiterates Geometres' description of his wall; 'neither the winds shook them, nor the snow comes near'.²⁹ Similarly Geometres discusses the fall of leaves in a manner that controls them through metaphor. The leaves are said to fall 'with a gentle rhythmic and ordered movement one after the other like a choir speaking in turn'.³⁰ With such phrases Geometres weaves art

26. *ibid.* 13.11-24.

27. *ibid.* 7.8-8.7.

28. *ibid.* 13.25-33; develops the theme initiated at the start of the letter, 10.1-6.

29. *ibid.* 7.13-14 (*Odyssey*, 6.43-44).

30. *ibid.* 8.6-7.

and nature together. Like his garden wall his verbal art is used as a control upon the element of chance that underpins the natural world. In Geometres' garden, we are assured that the leaves do not fall all of a sudden, nor do they whirl around falling upon one another. Through his worries over correct form and his use of natural metaphor he expresses his struggle to map his rhetorical training onto the potential wilderness that is his garden. In this manner he echoes the example of the romances in setting art and nature side by side. In both instances it is art that acts as the means of enclosing and subduing the natural world. Art can therefore be understood as a control of nature, the garden provides a theatre for the demonstration of this control.

The gardener and desire

In some texts it is the gardener who acts as the vehicle of control within the garden. The lengthiest expression of this is a twelfth-century character study by Nikephoros Basilakes.³¹ His 'Some words spoken by a gardener on the care of a garden, after having transplanted a cypress in the hope of fruit and not having achieved his end' presents a rhetorician's view of a gardener's reflection upon his work in his garden.

The un-named gardener opens his account with a lament. He has become the slave of vain hopes. He has been an excellent gardener. The apples he grows are sweet to the eye, the nose and the mouth. They are much admired and fetch a good price. The apples are as beautiful as a work of art. Indeed he can imagine his apples in a painting being collected by Erotes. His apple could be that given by Paris to Aphrodite. For his figs the gardener is called blessed. The fruit appears to smile at those that look at it. The peach he grows is like a maiden with a reddened downy cheek. The gardener's skill is to control precisely the time at which this fruit ripens. When ready the peach will fetch a high price. Whether it is the rose, the narcissus, the violet, the mallow, the lettuce or the lily the satisfactory reward for our gardener's sweat

31. A Pignani, Niceforo Basilace, *Proginnasmi e monodie*, (Byzantina e Neo-Hellenica. Collana di Studi e Testi, no. 10, Naples 1983) 225-228 and 364-366.

is monetary. For bringing water to his plants he gains a fitting recompence.

But his troubles begin when he sets his eyes upon a cypress. This tree awakens in him a desire, and his previous triumphs of cultivation become unsatisfactory. He wants this tree for his garden. He wants this tall, elegant tree to produce fruit as his other plants do. He brings the cypress into his garden, plants it near the centre and channels water to it. The tree is surrounded by stakes and bound with reeds. The gardener gives all of his attention to the cypress; his heart, his soul and his eye are drawn to the tree. The tree flourishes, growing taller, the gardener says, like a maiden moved by love. In the Springtime the cypress blossoms like all the other trees, but unlike these it produces no fruit. Nor as Autumn comes does the tree wither and lose its leaves. Instead it remains constant, evergreen. The next year the same thing happens, and our gardener becomes anxious, frustrated. This tree that is so beautiful in his eyes, standing tall and graceful, bears no fruit. In his frustration he directs all of the water within this garden towards the cypress and the other plants begin to wither and die.

But at last the gardener awakens to his folly. He has tried to gratify the vain hopes of his eyes, but the seductive cypress will not reward his look by bearing fruit. He tears the tree from his garden and returns to the care of his sickening fruitful former favourites. The study concludes with a warning about those that harbour false hope.

This brief, moralising lament reveals much about the Byzantine perception of their garden. This is not a simple tale of good husbandry, of the careful selection and control of crops. Rather the tale points to the erotic nature of the textual garden. I will introduce a second gardener before developing this point more fully.

In the fourteenth-century tale of *Kallimachos and Chrysorrhoe*, the eponymous hero gains a job as a gardener in order to be near Chrysorrhoe, the heroine of the tale held captive by a king.³² In

32. M. Pichard, *Le roman de Callimaque et de Chrysorrhoe* (Paris 1956) 11. 1633-1935.

his job as a gardener she does not recognize Kallimachos for some time, believing him to be dead. Eventually she recognises him and they devise means to unite and to make love within the garden. The part of the story that is of concern here is the nature of Kallimachos' job. He takes over the task of watering the garden from the old gardener. As a part of his duties he is to bring water to Chrysorrhoe. Her captor-king wishes that much water be brought to Chrysorrhoe so that her ardour for the supposedly dead Kallimachos might be quenched. The interest here lies in the fact that it is the gardener who has this task. The implication is that his watering of the plants and his watering of Chrysorrhoe are not perceived as dissimilar acts.

Both tales are treating of desire, but more than this they are treating of the repression of desire.³³ For the gardener in the tale outlined by Nikephoros Basilakes the cypress becomes the object of his desire; a desire that he describes as visual. He wishes to make the tall and elegant cypress a part of his garden. He wishes to make this free fruitful. The sexual analogy is clear. But the cypress does not reward the gardener's desirous look. The tree remains evergreen and unfruitful. In being thus, the cypress throws the garden into a state of crisis. Through its lack of regard for the gardener's role the cypress threatens his very identity. In the first section of the character study the gardener's success is outlined. Within his garden he gains reward and renown for bringing his plants to fruition. He controls the economy of the garden. The cypress, through its refusal to comply with the pattern of the gardener's nurturing of his plants to fruitfulness, threatens the whole of this economy. The threat is demonstrated by the withering of the garden around the cypress. The gardener, who has become a subject of his object of desire, robs the rest of his garden of life-giving water in his efforts to make the cypress conform and to produce fruit. With this withering of the fruit-bearing plants, the gardener loses the product that gives him his iden-

33. For a discussion of the *scopic* nature of desire see J. Lacan, *The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psycho-Analysis*, tr. A. Sheridan (London 1977) esp. 67-122.

tity. But before all is lost, the gardener awakens to the folly of his actions and removes the cypress from his garden. In this way he represses the desire represented by the cypress. This repression removes the threat that the cypress has become, for the cypress has called into question the power of the gardener over his garden. By not complying and bearing fruit the cypress shows that the gardener's mastery is incomplete, fragile. Instead of returning his gaze to him, satisfying, for a time, his desire through bearing fruit, the cypress presents another point of view which subjects the gardener to its gaze. A gaze which has the potential to rob the gardener of his objective being by decentring him.³⁴ For the gardener's control over his garden to survive he has to remove this alternative point of view.

The example of Kallimachos and Chrysorrhoe presents a similar, although more complex, example of the gardener wrestling with desire. The captive Chrysorrhoe has refused to comply with the king's demands. Instead she still burns with desire for the absent Kallimachos. The king calls upon the gardener to suppress this ardour. The gardener is to keep the heroine plentifully supplied with water; through this the king hopes to overcome Chrysorrhoe's resistance and so to bring her to the fruitfulness that he desires. The analogy with Basilakes' cypress is apparent and the result is the same. When Kallimachos and Chrysorrhoe finally recognise one another, they arrange to meet in a pavilion in the garden. This has been provided by the king as a means of aiding Chrysorrhoe's recovery. Once in the pavilion the hero and heroine make love and continue to do so through a series of clandestine meetings. They are, however, caught in their lovemaking. Brought before the king, they are charged with high treason. They have become a threat to the king's power, through denying the king his desire. In turning away from the king to

34. For a full discussion of these terms see Lacan's development of Sartre's image of the man surprised while looking through a keyhole and the anxiety of his being called into existence, *ibid.* 84ff. Lacan's reference is to J.-P. Sartre, *L'Être et le néant*, tr. H. Barnes as *Being and Nothingness* (New York n.d.) 259ff.

Kallimachos, Chrysorrhoe reveals the former as incomplete and thus undermines his authority. The author has thus manipulated the figure of the gardener. The king had used the gardener as a means of repressing the unruly passions within Chrysorrhoe. Ironically, the king has in doing this satisfied her desire and eclipsed the possibility of the satisfaction of his.

In both examples of the gardener this male figure is represented as the conduit for the control of nature and its equivalent, the suppression of unruly desire. If the gardener is male, then it is apparent that nature is female. The order given to the gardener to 'water' Chrysorrhoe indicates this. She used such language herself in her defence of Kallimachos at their trial. She likens herself to a vineyard tended first by Kallimachos. It is as her vintner that he has the right to her body denied the king.³⁵ The gardener, whether Basilakes' or Kallimachos, is understood to bring the plant or woman to her full fruitfulness or sexuality. When either is denied, the gardener has to expunge the miscreant, for revealing the desire within the gardener.

The woman in the garden

The garden represented by Nikephoros Basilakes is implicitly a female counterpart to the male vision of his gardener. In the romance literature on the garden this relationship is made explicit, with the garden being treated as the woman's domain. The heroine dwells within a garden. Sometimes that of her captor. She is hidden behind the walls of the garden. It is almost a prerequisite that the garden is walled. The hero needs to breach these walls to learn of her and to find her. The garden then frequently becomes the setting for their lovemaking.³⁶

In the tale of *Kallimachos and Chrysorrhoe* the hero and heroine make love in the gardens of the captor-king.³⁷ In

35. M. Pichard, *op. cit.* 11. 2457-2468.

36. On the evidence for the relationship between the woman and the garden see Littlewood, *art. cit.*

37. M. Pichard, *op. cit.* 11. 1949-1984.

Hysmine and Hysminias her father's garden is the setting for their first encounter.³⁸ Of the eleven romances that might be called Byzantine, in nine of them the heroine is closely associated with a garden.

This association is most clearly brought out in the descriptions of the female heroines and in their relationship to the descriptions of the garden. The description of the heroine almost always accompanies that of the garden.³⁹ This trait is most noticeable in the first lengthy description of Chrysorrhoe. Her description is delayed until after Kallimachos has killed the ogre, they have told each other of their lives and they have made love beside the baths. Only then is she described and this description is immediately followed by one of a garden.⁴⁰

It is not only this proximity of the woman's description to that of the garden, it is also the nature of the description that reveals a clear strategy of association. In the text of Nikephoros the peach assumes the maiden's blush, the cypress grows like a maiden in love. Such 'natural' imagery abounds. The epic *Digenes Akrites*, dating to about 1100, provides a lengthy intermingling of the description of nature and the description of the girl: 'So to a wondrous meadow; when we came there I set up my tent and my own bed, having placed round it every sort of plant. Tall rushes were growing there, in the mid-meadow cool water gushed up and ran everywhere through all that land. Several kinds of birds lived in the grove, tame peacocks and parrots and swans. The parrots hanging on the branches sang, the swans found their own pasture in the waters, forming a circle with their wings the peacocks among the flowers flashed back the hue of these flowers in their wings; the other birds having the freedom of their wings played on the branches of the trees. The noble girl's beauty shone gleaming brighter than the peacock and all the plants. Her face had copied the hue of the narcissus, and like a rose in bloom her cheeks were

38. The first five books of this romance are dominated by the garden.

39. Littlewood, *art. cit.* 103-107, gives a lengthy consideration to the relationship.

40. M. Pichard, *op. cit.* 11. 808-840.

dawning, her lips showed forth like a rose-flower at the moment when the opening of its cup begins. Curls that were riding just above her brows scattered fair-flashing gleams of gold and everywhere there was unutterable joy. All sorts of confections smoked around the bed, musk, allspice, ambergris, camphor and cassia, great was the pleasure and smell of gladness: so much delightfulness the garden had'.⁴¹

The pleasure taken in both garden and girl is bound together, so that the two might not be separated. Such tight comparisons can be found in the tales of *Achilles* and of *Belthandros and Chrysantza*, where the apples are like the breasts of the heroine and where the girl is likened to a garden with flowers and trees.⁴² In this way the body of the heroine becomes the garden itself. And as a garden the body of the woman becomes subject to the male gardener's gaze.

Such treatment of the heroine as the garden and of the attendant male role as the gardener is presented in a description of Kallimachos, he is a: 'gardener of the graces, keeper of beauty's vineyard and the one to pluck the delights of the matchless girl'.⁴³ We have seen above how the gardener acts as a controlling figure within the walls of the garden. He curbs unruly nature. In a similar manner the gardener and the always-male narrator control the woman within the garden. She is wedded to the imagery of nature. This association places her in a position akin to that of the natural world. Within the garden she is to be cultivated as the plants are. She is to be made fruitful. The woman does not break the bounds of her garden wall, but waits there for the hero to cross this barrier, so that he might 'rightfully' claim her virginity.

The woman is always presented through the medium of a male

41. John Mavrogordato, *Digenes Akrites* (Oxford 1956) 6.15-41.

42. Achilles: D. C. Hesselning, *L'Achilléiade byzantine, avec une introduction, des observations et un index* (Amsterdam 1919) 11. 1223-1226. *Belthandros and Chrysantza*: Kriaras, *op. cit.* 677-719.

43. M. Pichard, *op. cit.* 11. 926-7 (tr. Beaton, *op. cit.*).

narrator.⁴⁴ It is Hysminias' description of Hysmine that we have. In *Digenes* the object of the hero's attention is simply referred to as The Girl. In the fourteenth-century Byzantine *Achilles* the un-named girl is likened to a statue and to a picture.⁴⁵ Chrysorrhoe is similarly identified as a statue of Aphrodite.⁴⁶ As such, these women are woven into the fantasy of male discourse. The comparison to a work of art effectively silences them.

If we leave the realm of the romances it can be seen that descriptions of female beauty differ in some respects, but remain bound by idealising possibilities. The woman outside the garden complies with the natural order of geometry. The most radical expression of this comes from the *Life of Philaretos*.⁴⁷ The eighth-century Empress Irene sent officials all around the Empire searching for a suitable bride for the Emperor Constantine VI. The means of testing the future-bride's qualities was with a tape measure. Philaretos' elder daughter fitted the ideal proportions at her chest, waist and feet. As a result this Cinderella was taken to Constantinople to meet her prince. The truth of this tale is of little consequence, what matters is that it reveals the idealising and artificial quality of the male definition of female beauty.

This is borne out by two later descriptions of women. The first is that of Psellos describing his daughter.⁴⁸ For him his daughter Styliane's beauty lies in the proportion of her features. The head is neither too large nor too small, her eyebrows are not too long or too slanted, her nostrils are pleasingly proportioned. Nor does Psellos hold back from natural analogy in his description. Styliane's cheeks are the colour of a rose (surpassing this flower in that her colour did not wither). Her neck is of ivory, her mouth of precious stones, her eyelids of pomegranate skin, her teeth are pearl. She is an idol for her father's eye.

44. M. Alexiou, 'A critical reappraisal of Eustathios Makrembolites' *Hysmine and Hysminias*', *BMGS* 3 (1977) 32.

45. Hesselung, *op. cit.* 1. 800.

46. M. Pichard, *op. cit.* 11. 819-820.

47. M.-H. Fourmy and M. Leroy, 'Vie de Philarète le Miséricordieux'.

48. K. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη* V (Paris 1876) 62-87.

But such descriptive devices are not limited to the male hand. Anna Comnena's description of her mother reveals the same idealisation.⁴⁹ Irene is described thus: 'She was just like some young, everblooming plant, all her limbs and features were perfectly symmetrical, each being broad or narrow in due proportion'. Anna then tells us that Irene's face shone as softly as the moon, her cheeks were rosy. Perhaps tellingly she informs us that: 'Her lips were generally closed, and thus silent she resembled a living statue of beauty, a breathing pillar of grace. She usually accompanied her words with appropriate gestures, displaying her forearm up to the elbow, and from the shape of her hands and fingers you would have thought they were wrought in ivory by some artificer'. Indeed, Irene Ducas, this silenced woman, reads as if she were a sculpture in the garden.

What this brief consideration of the woman in the garden has shown is that the woman and the garden, so woven together in these garden texts, are treated with the same degree of artifice in their descriptions. An understanding of the Byzantine garden is therefore tied to an understanding of the male construction of Byzantine woman. Both are seen to occupy a space marginal to the male view of the world. Within the well-crafted enclosing walls of the garden they become subject to the male gardener, and in his descriptions they become subject to the delightful discourse of artifice that is present in Byzantium. I want to suggest two possible readings of this artifice. On the one hand it offers an image of cohesion and control. The male gardener has created a man-made world. The seasons are represented through the labours of man. His garden wall keeps unruly nature at bay. Just as he creates a controlled atmosphere within his garden, an atmosphere from which he gains profit and identity, so too does he control the woman. Her beauty is woven into nature, organized into a geometry of his devising. Her sexuality is only revealed through his interventions. She is his garden, his vineyard. He is

49. B. Leib, *Anne Comnène: Aléxiade* I (Paris 1937) 111.17-112.27.

the master artificer, his look shapes the garden and the woman to his own image. On the other hand there might be an irony hidden within this discourse of artifice. John Geometres has difficulty controlling his garden within the constraints of his rhetoric. The cypress of Basilakes' garden can take control of him, refusing to produce the fruit that he demands, creating an alternative point of view to his. It is in the garden that Chrysorrhoe can defy the king. It is in the garden that Hysmine can make Hysminias blush with her sexual forwardness.⁵⁰ The space of the garden, not quite of the city, not quite of the wilderness, might provide the space where male discourse falters, where its artifice becomes most apparent and thus where its control is most brittle. It is a space to which the woman is attached, not quite within the male world, not quite outside of it. It is a space where she might just disrupt his discourse, offer him the Edenic apple. The obvious artifice of the treatment of the garden and of the woman could then be read either as a metaphor of complete control, or as a metaphor of this control's apparent frailty. The Byzantine garden is a marginal space. It is very much a textual space.

Warburg Institute, London

50. Examples in Eustathios Makrembolites, *op. cit.* I.9 and I.11.

The exploitation and control of woodland and scrubland in the Byzantine world*

ARCHIBALD DUNN

I

A welcome and necessary aspect of the renewal of studies of the Byzantine economy has been the analysis, sometimes in both the technical and the broader organisational aspects, of the production and redistribution of particular goods. One only has to think of some recent work concerning mining and metallurgy, minting, silk-production, glass-making, potteries, shipping, and *salsamenta*,¹ to realise the potential significance of such studies, the

*This study began as a contribution to *Table ronde* 14 of the Eighteenth International Congress of Byzantine Studies (Moscow, August 8-15, 1991), 'Problèmes de l'histoire économique de Byzance', organised by Professor David Jacoby and Professor Michel Kaplan, whom I take this opportunity to thank for their invitation to participate. The theme of the meeting was the production, processing, and redistribution, of raw materials and commodities. I would like to record the support of the H.H. Wingate Foundation for this research.

1. For example, J.-P. Sodini et al., *Les carrières de marbre à l'époque paléochrétienne, Alikí I* (École Française d'Athènes, 1980); S. Vryonis, 'The question of the Byzantine mines', *Speculum* 37 (1962) 1-17; A. Bryer, 'The question of Byzantine mines in the Pontos . . .', *Anatolian Studies* 32 (1982) 133-150; M. Hendy, *Coinage and money in the Byzantine empire 1081-1261* (Dumbarton Oaks 1969); A. Muthesius, 'A practical approach to the history of Byzantine silk weaving', *JÖB* 34 (1984) 235-254; *eadem*, 'From seed to samites: aspects of Byzantine silk production', *Textile History* 20 (1989) 135-149; J. Philippe, *Le monde byzantin dans l'histoire de la verrerie* (Bologna 1970); G. Weinberg, 'A medieval mystery: Byzantine glass-production', *Journal of Glass Studies* 17 (1975) 127-141; T. Noonan, 'Technology transfer between Byzantium and Eastern Europe: a case study of the glass industry in early Russia', *Medieval Studies in Minnesota* 3 (St Cloud 1988) 105-111; *Recherches sur les amphores grecques*, edd. J.-Y. Empereur-Y. Garlan (École Française d'Athènes 1989); G. Bass-F. van Doorninck, *Yassi Ada I* (Texas A & M University 1982); J. Smedley, *Byzantium, the Crimea and the Steppe 550-750* (Unpublished doctoral thesis, Birmingham University, 1984), chap. 5, iii ('Economy and trade').

need for the historical study of all types of economic activity, and how unilluminating has become the incantation of such statements as that the Byzantine economy was 'overwhelmingly' rural (almost invariably made with reference to the primary products of a narrowly defined agriculture), or that centres of population were 'characterised by consumption', or even that commercialised redistribution was 'feeble' and stagnant in the Early Byzantine period.²

The problem with moving beyond such generalisations is, on one level, that of the quantitative comparison of sectors of activity, including commercialised redistribution. Progress for Byzantinists depends partly upon forms of archaeological enquiry, for the study of production and the pathways (but not the nature) of redistribution. Many branches of production and some aspects of redistribution have proved susceptible to archaeological exploration. Indeed the possibilities of excavation and laboratory-analysis have obviously stimulated the study of an 'artefactual' level of Byzantine economic history (which needs further integration). There is even a danger that their very susceptibility to investigation will again distort the economic picture, reviving the spectre of a Byzantium totally oriented towards commodity-production and trade (against which the incantations have been directed).³ But progress depends too on archaeologically led surveys and on archival studies, oriented as these can be towards

2. For this 'new tradition' see for example M. Hendy, 'Economy and state in Late Rome and Early Byzantium: an introduction', in *idem*, *The economy, fiscal administration and coinage of Byzantium* (London 1989) 1; or J. Haldon, 'Some considerations on Byzantine society and economy in the seventh century', *BF* 10 (1985) 75-112 (an important article in fact concerned with much of the Early and Middle Byzantine periods). For an alternative model see D. Engels, *Roman Corinth, an alternative model for the classical city* (Chicago 1990) 131-142.

3. The spectre is palpable in N. Oikonomidès, 'Silk trade and production in Byzantium from the sixth to the ninth century: the seals of *kommerkiarioi*', *DOP* 40 (1986) 33-53. But the traditional view of the Byzantine economy was effectively discredited: see M. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine monetary economy c.300-1450* (Cambridge 1985), hereafter *Hendy*.

the study of the rural economy.⁴ At the juncture of these various avenues of enquiry a balanced view may emerge.

This then is the context, one of unresolved but progressive discussion, in which a study of a relatively important yet absolutely neglected group of economic activities, those affecting woodlands and scrublands, becomes opportune. It can remind us of the ubiquity of commercialised redistribution (at however lowly a level), of a multiplicity of crafts and primary and secondary products, and of the broad front along which peasants dealt with markets, but also of the broad base of rural subsistence. It can and must also relate the Byzantine material to discussions going on in related disciplines about types and levels of exploitation, the factors affecting their environmental impacts, and the history of their impacts. A study of the control of such exploitations, that is, of the primary activities, also provides a necessary reminder that taxation and other dues could and did take many forms throughout the Byzantine era.

The neglect of this group of economic activities by historians could be attributed to their low profile in the sources. The Byzantine literary world unfortunately had no tradition of geographical literature such as flourished in the Islamic world.⁵ We cannot expect much from the Byzantine *ekphrasis*. Ioannes Kameniates, for instance, in his description of the natural resources of Southern Macedonia, has nothing to say about its forests, which certainly

4. The methodological and conceptual problems of the integration of survey-findings into Byzantine economic history perhaps deserve a special study. The value of certain forms of interdisciplinary survey for the study of medieval rural economies seems to have been questioned, perhaps in ignorance of the Eastern Mediterranean material already available. For such criticisms, which are to be rejected, see the views expressed in A. Bazzana-G. Noyé, 'Du "Bon usage" de l'archéologie extensive: une réponse en forme de bilan . . .', *Castrum* 2 (Rome-Madrid 1988) 543-562 (for instance at 558, referring to intensive survey, 'l'inutile et utopique exhaustivité'; at 559, the alleged 'poverty' of this type of survey's results for our understanding of medieval settlement-systems!).

5. For the Islamic tradition see A. Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu de 11^e siècle I-III* (Paris 1973, 1975, 1980).

still existed then (v.i.).⁶ And documents of a legal nature are very few compared to western European legal material of the middle ages. These are nevertheless our most important source. Many of their references to aspects of woodland and scrubland might be missed by a late twentieth-century reader. They are probably the pre-industrial exploitations of Mediterranean landscapes of which the historian is today least empirically aware. They therefore become the most easily marginalised aspects of studies of the Byzantine rural economy. Such studies, when dealing with production, are naturally concentrated upon an economic core of grain-production, viticulture, arboriculture in the sense of production of cultivated fruit- and nut-trees, above all the olive, and sometimes pastoralism (which does of course exploit woodlands and scrublands: see below, V).⁷

Despite the evidential problems it is still necessary for practical purposes to select material. This study has concentrated upon Greece and its islands, Cyprus, Anatolia, and Syria. There are

6. *Ioannis Caminiatae De expugnatione Thessalonicae*, ed. G.Böhlig (Berlin 1973) ̲55-6. Only at 5.15 does he refer to game (deer) found in the 'mountains' (ὄρη) around the Langadas Basin, which is in practice a reference to woodlands. The word *oros* was virtually synonymous with woodland. One fifteenth-century *ekphrasis*, Ioannes Eugenikos on the village of Pedina in the Peloponnese, does at least mention pannage: S.Lampros, *Παλαιολογία καὶ Πελοποννησιακά I* (Athens 1912) 52.

7. For these aspects of the Middle Byzantine rural economy see now A.Harvey, *Economic Expansion in the Byzantine Empire 900-1200* (Cambridge 1989) chaps.2-5 (hereafter *Harvey*); for the same aspects of the Late Byzantine rural economy J.Nesbitt, *Mechanisms of agricultural production on estates of the Byzantine praktika* (Ph.D., Wisconsin University 1972); N.Kondov, 'Das Dorf Gradec (demographisch-wirtschaftliche Gestalt eines Dorfes im Gebiet des unteren Strymons zu Beginn des XIV.Jh.)', *Études Balkaniques* 7 (1971) 31-55; *idem*, 'Produktionsorganisatorische Verschiebungen bei dem Weinbau in der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts im Gebiet des unteren Strymons', *Études Balkaniques* 9 (1973/1) 67-76; *idem*, 'Über den wahrscheinlichen Weizenenertrag auf der Balkanhalbinsel im Mittelalter', *Études Balkaniques* 10 (1974/1) 97-109; *idem*, 'Das Dorf Gradec . . .', *Études Balkaniques* 13 (1977/3) 71-91; A.Laiou-Thomadakis, *Peasant Society in the Late Byzantine Empire, a Social and Demographic Study* (Princeton 1977), parts of chaps. 2 and 5. For Byzantine pastoralism in particular see *Hendy* 55-57 and *Harvey* 149-157; for some Late Byzantine evidence from S.E. Macedonia, Kondov, 'Das Dorf Gradec . . .' (1977) 79-85; for its late medieval Pontic variant, A.Bryer, 'Greeks and Türkmens: the Pontic exception', *DOP* (1975) 113-148.

documented regions which have been excluded, namely Early Byzantine Egypt and Middle Byzantine Italy.⁸ On the other hand one has to adopt a fairly 'long-term' and comparativist perspective, necessary if any sense is to be made of fragmentary material. The approach is made possible by great continuities observable in the branches of material culture and technology which concern us. At the same time the long view allows us to glimpse alterations to the bases upon which the resources of woodland and scrubland were controlled.

This then is a brief survey of the problems and prospects of a history of the exploitation of the wooded parts of the Byzantine resource-base, the problem of the range of exploitations practised therein during the Byzantine era and their economic significance, and the problem of the conditions under which woodlands and scrublands were exploited, as a contribution to the debate outlined above.

'Woodland' will refer to areas dominated by what we distinguish empirically as trees, though generically they are the same as bushes. 'Scrubland' will often refer to areas dominated by the same types of plant in their stunted or 'bushy' forms, the *maquis* and *pseudomaquis* vegetational communities, which are scrubland precisely because of their regular exploitation and revert to woodland when the pressures upon them ease. A third type of scrubland which concerns us, in these parts of the E. Mediterranean, *garrigue* (Greek *phrygana*) is non-arborescent. *Shiblyak*, another type of arborescent scrubland (all deciduous unlike *maquis* and *pseudomaquis*) is more typical of the central Balkans, than of the Mediterranean.⁹ Finally 'woodland' does not include orchards, which need to be treated separately.¹⁰

8. For remarks about the control and exploitation of woodland and scrubland in another part of the Byzantine world see J.-M. Martin-G. Noyé, 'Les campagnes de l'Italie méridionale byzantine (X^e-XI^e siècles)', *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Moyen Age* 101 (1989) 581 and 583-4.

9. I follow the categories of O. Rackham, 'Observations on the historical ecology of Boeotia', *ABSA* 78 (1983) 291-351, hereafter *Rackham*(2). I have no references which I can relate to *shiblyak*.

10. On the traditional importance of orchards as a source of fuel, fodder and light building materials see O. Rackham, 'Land-use and native vegetation in Greece',

II

The botanist Turrill wrote over sixty years ago: 'In spite of much search I have found little which throws light on the use and misuse of vegetation in the Byzantine empire.'¹¹ He was talking about woodland and scrubland in the Balkans, and, from his own viewpoint, about a significant facet of economic history which no Byzantinist had yet analysed. He felt unable to proceed. To approach this facet of economic history we have to consider Turrill's problem and methodologically we have first to temporarily separate the problem of the history of exploitation of woodland and scrubland from that of the conditions of exploitation. Advances in the study of environmental history have facilitated such an approach. In fact for the Byzantine world we are dependant in this respect upon environmental studies, in particular upon landscape-history. But without reference to recent or contemporary evidence the only directly relevant activity which landscape-history (as revealed by palynology, alluvial chronology, and settlement-survey) seems to reveal is that of tree-felling, whether for assart or purely for timber.

If, however, landscape-history is considered in the light of the structures of existing E. Mediterranean plant-communities and the traditional patterns of their exploitation, it becomes possible to consider the history of most of the activities which concern us, at least under the general heading of their environmental impact, in other words Turrill's question. This is important, for it seems that given certain political, economic, and environmental conditions these activities did not in aggregate and over the long

Archaeological aspects of woodland ecology, edd. M.Bell-S.Limbrey (B.A.R. S142, 1982), hereafter *Rackham*(1), 192 (with specific reference to Greece). Alan Harvey makes useful observations on Byzantine olive-growing and mulberry-plantations (*Harvey* 144-149). Ph.Koukoulès, Βυζαντινών βίος και πολιτισμός (Athens 1948-1955), hereafter *Koukoulès*, at V 274-79 describes some arboricultural practices (planting, grafting, etc.).

11. W.Turrill, *The plant-life of the Balkan Peninsula. A phytogeographical study* (Oxford 1929) 192.

term deplete arboreal resources seriously. There could be a 'degeneration' from woodland to scrubland, but scrubland, as ethnographers have shown (v.i.) could be more useful economically than woodland in many respects.

Such a framework, in which the various kinds of evidence mentioned, including literary and archival, are judged together within a long-term perspective, is essentially present in Rackham's study of Boeotia, the first systematic study of Greek regional landscape-history with the emphasis on the vegetation.¹² This study of the structures, extent, and distribution, of plant-communities and the problem of the changes which these may have undergone since the Neolithic deals with the aspect of landscape-history most relevant for present purposes.

Rackham draws on ethnographic studies to identify some of the range and the intensities of traditional exploitations of woodland and scrubland in southern Greece, and establishes the consequences of particular exploitations (e.g. felling, coppicing, pollarding, tapping, browsing, burning for pasture) over the long term in an Eastern Mediterranean setting, so as to attain a qualitative model in which these various exploitations (implicitly for the needs of rural communities) were broadly in balance with the regenerative capacities of arboreal resources throughout the historical era. Ethnographic studies remind us of the ubiquity, enormous scale and variety, and indispensability, of these exploitations in traditional E. Mediterranean communities; also implicitly of the adaptation of exploitation, when it is for subsistence, to the capacities of the resource-base.¹³

12. Rackham(2). Rackham's subject is not really addressed in the final publications of two Greek regional surveys so far available: *The Minnesota Messenia Expedition* (Minnesota 1972 onwards) and C.Renfrew-M.Wagstaff, *An island polity. The archaeology of exploitation in Melos* (Cambridge 1982).

13. See for instance H.Forbes, 'Gathering in the Argolid: a subsistence subsystem in a Greek agricultural community', *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* (hereafter ANYAS) 268 (1976) 251-264; M.Forbes-H.Koster, 'Fire, axe and plow: human interference in local plant-communities in the Southern Argolid', ANYAS 268 (1976) 109-126; H.Forbes, 'Farming and foraging in prehistoric Greece: a cultural ecological perspective', ANYAS 268 (1976) 127-142; N.Gavrielides, 'The impact of olive growing on the landscape in the Fourni valley', ANYAS 268 (1976) 143-157.

It is important for present purposes that this aspect of the resource-base was not necessarily degraded or exhausted by exploitation on a large scale; that for instance the arboreal aspect of central Greece in the nineteenth century was very similar to that of Roman central Greece, despite the periodic intensification of exploitation;¹⁴ and that pollarding and coppicing have been practised at the same spots for centuries.¹⁵ But it is equally important that exploitation has fluctuated in intensity both locally and according to broad trends during the historical era, as landscape-archaeology, palynology, and historical studies have begun to show, and that (not apparently Rackham's view) in some E. Mediterranean settings these intensifications may have contributed to causing a degree of erosion which prevented a fully cyclical regeneration of arboreal resources on uncultivated land.¹⁶

The work of Jacques Lefort and his team in Eastern Macedonia supports this view. Their projects have explored the implications of Byzantine documents (fiscal, for instance) and *Reiseberichte* of the Ottoman era for the history of the landscape. Interrelating geographical observations (of the vegetation, for instance) with demographic, toponymic, and topographic data, their studies delineated stages in the clearance of woodland between the eleventh and mid fourteenth centuries, as well as during the Ottoman era. More generally, using some of the palynological data available, they delineated a series of fluctuations in the extent of woodland (and probably scrubland) since Antiquity, in which regeneration is never truly cyclical.¹⁷

14. Rackham(2) 329-37 and 344-7.

15. Rackham(2) 320-1; Rackham(1) 192; also J. Wright et al., 'The Nemea Valley Archaeological Project: a preliminary report', *Hesperia* 59 (1990), 592, n. 30.

16. The causes and extent of erosion in the Byzantine world are vexed questions which can only be properly studied within a multiperiod framework. But Hendy 58-68 ('The problem of erosion') establishes that lowland alluviation, therefore presumably upland erosion, was happening in the Byzantine world. But it is premature to assign 'deforestation' a role.

17. See J. Lefort, 'Radolivos: population et paysage', *TM* 9 (1985) 195-234, particularly 197-222; *idem*, 'Population and landscape in Eastern Macedonia during

These studies of northern and central Greek landscapes should be seen as complementary rather than contradictory outlines of exploitative history. Their interpretation within the framework of Byzantine economic history is difficult of course.¹⁸ To what extent, if ever, does the depletion of arboreal coverage merely represent local demographic pressures at the subsistence-level, and to what extent the pressures of the fisc, the market, and the proprietorial regime, with their demands for agricultural and arboreal products? But the value of pursuing these kinds of projects is clear. For most regions of the Byzantine world no archives have survived, and even where they have they cover small patches of regions over very short disconnected timespans. So the indications of tree-loss, accompanied as they sometimes are by evidence, palynological or archaeological, of the spread of agriculture, offer another means of evaluating general models of Byzantine economic change (at least of the descriptive aspect of a model of economic pulsations). The apparent chronology and trajectories also make interesting comparison with those for the post-Roman medieval west. At present they seem rather different for the fifth to twelfth centuries.¹⁹ A pattern has now emerged

the Middle Ages: the example of Radolivos', *Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society* (Birmingham 1986) 11-21, particularly 15 onwards; and B.Geyer, 'Esquisse pour une histoire des paysages depuis l'an mil', *Paysages de Macédoine* (Paris 1986) 99-116.

18. See Geyer, *op.cit.*, for a discussion in which the problem of economic factors is raised.

19. For a synthesis of research on the extent of woodland and early medieval clearance, still quoted subject to revisions, see C.Higounet, 'Les forêts de l'Europe occidentale du V^e au XI^e siècle', *Agricoltura e mondo rurale in occidente nell' alto medioevo. Settimane di studio del centro italiano sull' alto medioevo* XIII (Spoleto 1966) 343-98, particularly 392-7 on several 'pulsations' of clearance and regeneration prior to the 'grands défrichements' of the twelfth and later centuries. For good examples of the revision of his work see Oliver Rackham's studies of English medieval woodlands. See C.Wickham, 'European forests in the Early Middle Ages: landscape and clearance', *L'ambiente vegetale nell' alto medioevo. Settimane di studio XXXVII* (Spoleto 1990) 499-501 for a qualified reaction to the western environmental and textual evidence. While not actually discussing whether or not the pressure on woodlands had eased before the sixth century Wickham can argue for more continuity of settlement between Roman and early medieval times around and within wooded areas than was once thought likely. For relative continuity in levels of afforestation see M.Bell,

which links the French Eastern Macedonia project's data with palynological studies from other parts of Greece and Anatolia.

To take first those that are related to calibrated C_{14} readings; at Khimaditis in W. Macedonia a steady decline in arboreal pollen-values and an advance of plants associated with agriculture and woodland-clearance had begun by ca.850 A.D.;²⁰ at Pertouli in Thessaly by ca.900 A.D.;²¹ at Litokhoro in W. Macedonia from ca.1000 A.D.²² This retreat and probable thinning of woodland and extension of agriculture, herding, and other exploitations, arguably lasts in the palynological record until the fourteenth century.²³

A corresponding arboreal pollen-trajectory is recognised, though without comment, by its author Bottema, in a sequence from Lake Volve in central Macedonia.²⁴ It is most plausible. At a depth of 1.20m the imported *zea mays* (sweetcorn) first occurs, associating its level arguably with the early eighteenth century,²⁵ beside a steep downward trend for *quercus cerris*, an oak associated with naturally arable land, therefore land being cleared, parallel also with a decline of montane trees such as beech.

'Environmental archaeology as an index to continuity and change in the medieval landscape', *The rural landscape of medieval England*, edd. M.Aston-D.Austin-C.Dyer (Oxford 1989) 273 onwards. Geyer (*Paysages de Macédoine* 101-6) in fact proposed the parallelism of a sequence of deposits and incisions in a ravine in S.E. Macedonia, reflecting phases of deforestation, with a pollen-profile from Litokhoro in W.Macedonia and known pulsations of the regional economy.

20. J.Turner, 'The vegetation of Greece during prehistoric times: the palynological evidence', *Thera and the Aegean world I* (London 1978) 769, using S.Bottema's unpublished doctoral thesis *Late Quaternary vegetational history of northwestern Greece*. The changes established at these and other sites sometimes relate to arboreal pollen that could be either woodland or scrubland-derived.

21. N.Athanasiades, 'Zur postglazialen Vegetationsentwicklung von Litokhoro Katerinis und Pertouli Trikalon (Griechenland)', *Flora* 164 (1975) 112-118; Turner, *art.cit.* 769.

22. Athanasiades, *art.cit.* 123; Turner, *art.cit.* 770.

23. S.Bottema, 'Palynological investigations in Greece with special reference to pollen as an indicator of human activity', *Palaeohistoria* 24 (1982) 281; Athanasiades, *art.cit.*, 127.

24. Bottema, *art.cit.*, 287.

25. *Ibid.*, 265.

This decline in arboreal pollen-values is from a peak at *ca.*2.30m, presumably a 'post-Black Death' phenomenon; preceded by a trough at *ca.*3m, presumably reflecting a 'pre-Black Death' productive and demographic peak; preceded in turn by another peak in arboreal pollen-values at *ca.*4.30m, presumably in the Early Middle Byzantine period; rising steeply from a trough at *ca.*5.70m which presumably reflects the Late Roman/Early Byzantine productive and demographic peak recorded in recent Greek archaeological surveys.²⁶ Bottema had already established that at a depth of 6m the pollen-spectrum reflects Greco-Roman agricultural conditions.²⁷

Other less complete sequences from S.E. Macedonia can be related to it. At Philippi profiles from two cores extracted from the drained lakebed (Lake Pravi) contain deposits reaching, it is calculated, to the mid fifth century A.D., at which time 'the plain of Drama and the hill-country around was not deforested as it is today, but carried a deciduous oak-dominated woodland' which was growing on rich and poor soils. Clearance was 'not taking place on a large enough scale to disturb the wooded environment'.²⁸ This Early Byzantine situation prolongs that of the Greco-Roman era, an era of 'mixed oak forest, some thinner woodland, (and) open land', which had been preceded by an

26. For the vegetational phenomena see Bottema, *art.cit.*, Fig.4 (unbound). For archaeological indications of an Early Byzantine demographic peak in Greece and Cyprus see for instance J.Bintliff-A.Snodgrass, 'The Cambridge/Bradford Boeotian Expedition: the first four years', *The Journal of Field Archaeology* 12 (1985), 157 (Table 6); C.Runnels-T.van Andel, 'The evolution of Settlement in the Southern Argolid, Greece: an economic explanation', *Hesperia* 56 (1987) 324 (Fig. 15); D.Rupp, 'The Canadian Palaipaphos Survey Project. Third preliminary report, 1983-1985', *Acta Archaeologica* 57 (1986) 32 (Table 1), on which one should consider sites labelled 'Earlier Roman/Later Roman, Later Roman, Later Roman/Earlier Byzantine', and 'Earlier Byzantine', to form a qualitative impression of Early Byzantine site-numbers relative to other periodic peaks. J.Wright-J.Cherry-J.Davis-E.Mantzouranis, Το ερευνητικό αρχαιολογικό πρόγραμμα στην κοιλάδα της Νεμέας κατά τα έτη 1984-1985, *Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα Αθηνών* 18 (1985) 92 (εικ.4), meanwhile remind us that no trend of this kind is detectable everywhere.

27. Bottema, *art.cit.*, 265-6.

28. J.Greig-J.Turner, in *Excavations at Sitagroi, a prehistoric village in northeast Greece*, edd. C.Renfrew et al. (Los Angeles 1986) 46 and 47.

era of total afforestation.²⁹ At Gravouna, between the Nestos Delta and Mt Lekane, the trajectory of arboreal pollen-values (TAPV) for *quercus* suggests a gradual cumulative decline during the Middle and Late Byzantine eras, followed by a resurgence, as at Volve, then by a stripping of the oak-dominated cover during the Ottoman era.³⁰

Not surprisingly the speed and extent of change vary. But the parallelism of TAPVs right across N. Greece and their conjuncture with S. Greek and Cypriot archaeological survey-data suggest the general profile of, and influences upon, the Byzantine environmental bridge between Antiquity and the Ottoman era. There is an Early Byzantine Greek conjuncture between falling TAPVs and settlement-intensification. The N. Greek TAPVs then rise as S. Greek settlement disintensifies, an Early Middle Byzantine ('Dark Age') phenomenon. Then as the TAPV-trend is reversed settlement re-intensifies, archaeologically a phenomenon of the eleventh and later centuries.³¹ Owing to the accidents of pollen-rain preservation, normally poor in S. Greece,³² and to the late development of the 'multi-period'

29. J.Greig-J.Turner, 'Some pollen diagrams and their archaeological significance', *Journal of Archaeological Science* 1 (1974) 182 (Fig.3). The same profiles are discussed in J.Turner-J.Grieg, 'Some Holocene pollen diagrams from Greece', *Review of Palaeobotany and Palynology* 20 (1975) 194-200. The cores were extracted with a view to supplementing for the protohistoric and historical eras the data of a Dutch survey of 1960, for which see briefly T.van der Hammen et al., 'Palynological study of a very thick peat-section in Greece and the Würm-Glacial vegetation in the Mediterranean region', *Geologie en Mijnbouw* 44 (1965) 37-39.

30. Turner-Grieg, *art.cit.*, 202-3. The Byzantine period is implicitly at section G1/2, Fig.6 (202).

31. The connection between two distinct phases of Early and Middle Byzantine settlement-intensification and the intensification of land-use has already been successfully documented for a region of S.Greece, with a correlation of the chronologies of alluviation and site-occupation. See T.van Andel-C.Runnels-K.Pope, 'Five thousand years of land use and abuse in the Southern Argolid, Greece', *Hesperia* 55 (1986), 103-28 (see particularly Fig. 15). The apparent disintensification of settlement from the seventh to ninth centuries is accompanied by a resurgence of pines and maquis: *art.cit.*, 122, reference to unpublished pollen-profiles.

32. It is not absent there, but is rarely useful for present purposes, for instance an analysis of a pollen-profile from Lake Copais in Boeotia: *Rackham*(2) 339-343. See *The Minnesota Messenia Expedition* 1 chap.12, by H.Wright, for the extremely meagre

survey in N. Greece,³³ the archaeological and palynological phenomena are still only locationally linked in the S. Argolid in the Peloponnese.³⁴ But it is an entirely reasonable working hypothesis that their conjuncture applies widely and that they reflect demographic and agricultural expansions and contractions besides reflecting the economic regime.³⁵

Archaeological and palynological research in S. Anatolia, not apparently conducted with any reference to the Greek data, now reveals the same pattern: an advance of rural settlement and retreat of woodland in Antiquity, followed by a reversal of these trends in the Early Middle Byzantine period lasting to ca. 1000 A.D.³⁶ By that time the rate of felling had overtaken the woods' regenerative capacities, or clearance for agriculture had become significant, or both. For eleventh-century Anatolia we have a rare reference to woodland-clearance for agriculture, the will of Eustathios Boilas of 1059.³⁷ Though it involves a paraphrase of a line from Psalm Seventy-three it is clear enough. Boilas states that all the rural properties which he then held were cleared by

results for our purposes of a search for polliniferous sediments all over the Peloponnese. For an example of the difficulty of interpreting the small S.Greek pollen-residues see W.Randolph, 'Excavations at Porto Cheli. Preliminary report V: the Early Byzantine remains', *Hesperia* 48 (1979) 321-4 (M.Sheehan, 'Pollen analysis of Halieis sediments').

33. The Strymon Delta Project, the Langadas Basin Survey, and the Grevena Survey have not yet published the relevant data.

34. See note 31 above.

35. Demographic resurgence and the revival of agriculture as overriding trends for much of the Middle Byzantine period is the thesis of *Harvey*.

36. N.Roberts, 'Human-induced landscape change in South and Southwest Turkey during the later Holocene', *Man's role in the shaping of the Eastern Mediterranean landscape*, edd. S.Bottema-G.Entjes-Nieborg-W.van Zeist (Rotterdam-Brookfield 1990) 59-64. See also M.Harrison, 'Nouvelles découvertes romaines tardives et paléobyzantines en Lycie', *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (1979) 222-239 for references to the natural reafforestation of Early Byzantine and then of Middle Byzantine phases of upland-settlement and terraces in S.W. Turkey. Hopefully recent and ongoing interdisciplinary surveys in S.W. Turkey (the British survey of the *territorium* of Balboura and the German survey of the *territorium* of Kyaneai) will contribute to this discussion.

37. See *Harvey* 64-65 for a discussion of this document in the context of the very longlasting expansion of the Middle Byzantine rural economy.'

him (presumably his slaves and tenants). The land had been ἄλσώδη καὶ δυσχερῇ ('wooded and rough') until πελέκει καὶ πυρὶ κατατεφρώσας ὡς ὁ ψαλμός ('reducing (it) to ashes with axe and fire . . .'), he created a whole series of productive features.³⁸

The evidence, both archaeological and palynological, begins to suggest that a considerable demographic and economic decline affected the countryside as well as urban sites in most parts of the Byzantine world at the end of Late Antiquity and that recovery was only slow. But it is unlikely that the regenerating woodlands and scrublands were neglected. During the Early Middle Byzantine period they would simply have been under less pressure.

As far as the Balkans, Anatolia, and Syria, are concerned then one need not accept the recent assertion (and common assumption) of 'the comparative scarcity' of wood in the Byzantine world,³⁹ at least for the Middle Byzantine era, except for the central Anatolian plateau, which was already treeless in Antiquity and continued to be so (but still supports some scrubland even today).⁴⁰ Rather, wherever significant spontaneous woodland-coverage existed in Antiquity, and still existed in the early-to-mid nineteenth century (and in some areas still exists), in N.W., N. and N.E. Anatolia,⁴¹ and in N. and W. Syria,⁴² one can an-

38. 'Le testament d'Eustathios Boilas', ed. and comm. P. Lemerle, *Cinq études sur le XI^e siècle* (Paris 1977), text: 20-29, 1.49. S. Vryonis unaccountably translates ἄλσώδης as 'foul': *idem*, 'The will of a provincial magnate, Eustathios Boilas (1059)', *DOP* 11 (1957) 265. Boilas' estates were probably in N.E. Anatolia (*idem*, 275-6). Lemerle's vague location in S.E. Anatolia (Lemerle, *op.cit.*, 47) is rightly questioned: A. Kazhdan, 'Remarques sur le XI^e siècle byzantin à propos d'un livre récent de Paul Lemerle', *B* 49 (1979) 492 onwards. Boilas refers to the clearance and equipping of one estate (Lemerle, *op.cit.*, text: 11.48-55) then lists the other somewhat similarly reclaimed estates (11.55-60).

39. See 'Wood and woodworking', *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* III (Oxford 1991) 2204.

40. For the treelessness of the central Anatolian plateau in Antiquity see Meiggs 392-3. Its treelessness in the Byzantine era can also be inferred from descriptions, for which see Hendy 40-44. See also Harvey 128.

41. See Meiggs chap. 2 and 393-4 for the clear correspondence between the arboreal geography of Antiquity and today.

42. See N. Rowton, 'The topological factor in the Hapiru problem', *Studies in honor of Benno Landsberger* (Chicago 1965) 376-382 for Arabic, Frankish, seventeenth-to-

ticipate that fluctuations in woodland-coverage such as those identified in Greece will have occurred. In Syria the Middle Byzantine emperors reoccupied precisely the arboriferous northern and western regions. And the 'bare hills of Greece'⁴³ were not typically or usually bare. Where there is no woodland there is often the extremely resilient and economically productive scrubland already mentioned, which can form the major component of the local vegetation,⁴⁴ and which could have already predominated in Antiquity where it predominates today.⁴⁵

For the interior of E. Balkans, while projects like those conducted in Greece and Turkey have not yet offered models of changes in the extent of arboreal coverage during the Byzantine era,⁴⁶ studies of the literary sources suggest vast areas of lowland and upland arboreal coverage of which the former has only disappeared since the Middle Byzantine era while the latter

nineteenth-century travellers', and nineteenth-to-twentieth-century geographers' references, to the extensive woodlands of northern and western Syria, now severely depleted; also Meiggs 394-5, and W.Djobadze, *Archaeological investigations in the region west of Antioch-on-the-Orontes* (Stuttgart 1986) 3.

43. C.Wickham, 'European forests in the Early Middle Ages' (*art.cit.*, n19) 533.

44. See Rackham(2) 298 for the fact that about a third of Boeotia is covered by scrubland. 39% of central Greece as a whole is covered by woodland and scrubland, including within it some grassland (18.4% 'forests', 20.6% 'partially forested and grazed'); N.Yassoglou-D.Catacousinos-A.Kouskolekas, 'Land use in the semi-arid zone of Greece', *Land use in semi-arid mediterranean climates* (UNESCO 1964) 64 (Table 2). In one Argolid commune the *maquis* scrubland recently covered 57% of the surface while bare rock and steppic grass covered 10.31%: Forbes-Koster, *art.cit.* n13, Table 4. In another Argolid commune *maquis* covered 47.8% of the surface: Gavrielides, *art.cit.* n13, 151. Woodland and some forms of scrubland cover 20.57% of SE Macedonia today, a calculation that I draw from G.Stergiades, 'Δάση της Μακεδονίας, ο πλούτος της Ελλάδος', *Μακεδονική Ζωή* 301 (June 1991) 32 (Fig.1).

45. See Rackham(2) 329-337 and 344-347. As already stated Rackham's is the only multidisciplinary study of the vegetational history of a Greek region throughout the historical era. I take his model of continuity to be useful, *pro tem.*, for other long-settled E.Mediterranean coastal regions.

46. See now E.Bozilova-S.Tonkov, 'The impact of man on the natural vegetation in Bulgaria from the Neolithic to the Middle Ages', *Man's role in the shaping of the Eastern Mediterranean landscape*, 327-332, which though useful ends effectively with the Roman era.

remains,⁴⁷ or rather is regenerated (the mining and smelting industries having exploited these upland-resources since prehistoric times).⁴⁸

However tentative are some of the findings of this mixture of disciplines currently, there is a clear methodological lesson. Byzantine historical geography or regional studies, the headings under which one might expect to learn something about natural resources and their exploitation, can generally only become helpful if the often-evoked long-term perspective and interdisciplinary approach are systematically adopted. Despite interpretative problems these inform a debate about general trends in regional economic history better than the inert *tabulae* of natural resources offered by conventional Byzantine historical geography. The familiar 'tabular' approach can be useful (and it has its function in the present study: see section VI), but is only one element of the prerequisite framework.⁴⁹ Thus indications of the pre-Byzantine and post-Byzantine patterns of exploitation can be used to at least define investigative problems and models, as has been done tentatively by the *T.I.B.* for Cilicia and Isauria, whose authors point out the dearth of Byzantine references to the region's timber, a resource known to have been widely exploited both before and after the regions' Byzantine occupation-phases.⁵⁰ Regional studies which ignore these perspectives invariably have little to

47. See V.Beševliev, *Die protobulgarische Periode der bulgarischen Geschichte* (Amsterdam 1981) 1-4; *Hendy* 25 and 37-39. The plains and valleys of Bulgaria had also contained *saltus* in the Roman imperial era. Some examples are cited in B.Gerov, 'Aspekte des Grund- und Bordenbesitzes im römischen Thrakien und Moesien (1-3 Jh.)', *Ancient Bulgaria* 2, ed. A.Poulter (Nottingham 1983) 2-3.

48. Bozilova-Tonkov, *art.cit.*

49. Beševliev, *op.cit.*, 2-3, for instance offers a tabulation of ancient and Byzantine references to woodland in Bulgaria, given implicit meaning by the remark that such areas are now lightly wooded or bare, and by general references to charcoal-making and shipbuilding. The author makes no reference to palaeoenvironmental studies in Bulgaria. But most regional studies do not even reach Beševliev's position.

50. F.Hild-H.Hellenkemper, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini (T.I.B.) 5.Kilikien und Isaurien* (Vienna 1990) 111-5.

tell us about the history of Byzantine landscapes and land-use.⁵¹ Meanwhile historians who try to address the problem of the impact of the Byzantine exploitation of the woodland and scrubland of Anatolia in general are reduced to unhelpful generalisations by the lack of appropriate written sources.⁵²

It is worth citing one example of the corrective value of the new data for historians' general models. The historian Maurice Lombard, in his often-quoted study of the Muslims' predatory searches for timber around the coasts and islands of the Byzantine world, thought that he could detect a 'doubling' of the demand for timber with the arrival of the Muslims at the Mediterranean in the seventh century.⁵³ But this is a fluctuation not corroborated by the Greek and Anatolian environmental data. A

51. Monographs concerning Late Byzantine Epirus, Middle Byzantine Thessaly, Macedonia, Middle Byzantine Thrace, Later Byzantine Thrace, the Middle Byzantine Peloponnese, and Euboea, and the *T.I.B.* for Phrygia and Pisidia, Cappadocia, Hellas and Thessaly, do not analyse this basic aspect of Byzantine historical geography. An important study of the Middle Byzantine islands of the E.Mediterranean, E.Malamut, *Les îles de l'empire byzantin VIII^e-XI^e siècles* I-II (Paris 1988), notes some references to woodland and scrubland and their exploitation without discussion. P.Soustal-J.Koder, *T.I.B. 3. Nikopolis und Kephallenia* (Vienna 1981) 233, offers without discussion one undated reference to the exportation of timber. The author of a new Byzantine historical topography of western and northern Macedonia evokes but does not seek to define the problem of the history of the exploitation of the regions' woodlands: V.Kravari, *Villes et villages de Macédoine occidentale* (Paris 1989) 28-29. Of course, I do not include *Paysages de Macédoine* in this category, nor A. Bryer-D. Winfield, *The Byzantine monuments and topography of the Pontos* (Dumbarton Oaks 1985), in which there is a useful discussion of the post-Byzantine situation (I, 299). I have not at this time been able to consult the very recently published *T.I.B.* for Thrace.

52. See J.Koder, *Der Lebensraum der Byzantiner. Historisch-geographischer Abriss ihres mittelalterlichen Staates im östlichen Mittelmeerraum* (Vienna 1984) 51-54, or HENDY 59-61.

53. M.Lombard, 'Arsenaux et bois de marine dans la Méditerranée musulmane VII^e-XI^e siècles', *idem, Espaces et réseaux du haut moyen âge* (Paris 1972) 110. This article (*op.cit.*, 107-151), though problematic in its use of Byzantine sources, remains the standard study of the literary sources for the Early Muslim exploitation of the timber-resources of the E. Mediterranean. It should be read together with the same author's 'La marine adriatique dans le cadre du moyen âge, VII^e-XI^e siècles', *op.cit.*, 95-105, and his 'Le bois dans la Méditerranée musulmane, VII^e-XI^e siècles. Un problème cartographié', *op.cit.*, 153-176.

rise in demand from Islamic Egypt in particular, and for Muslim and Byzantine warship-building, could have been more than offset by a slump in mercantile shipbuilding, in population-levels, and in construction of all kinds, in Anatolia, Greece, and the islands, during the seventh and eighth centuries.⁵⁴

The factors affecting the temporal fluctuations which have been revealed are those whose workings political and economic historians pursue in different spheres. Temporal fluctuations cannot be related to the operation of environmental factors in the medieval eastern Mediterranean. The current consensus is that climatic variability has within the last two and a half to three thousand years corresponded to that of recent centuries around the eastern Mediterranean; so that one does not, as some have done, seek to attribute environmental changes of the historical era to climatic events.⁵⁵ Regional variations meanwhile may more directly reflect the effect of broadly geographical factors

54. For some recent synthesizing approaches to the long-term material-cultural recession of this period see C.Mango, 'Daily life in Byzantium', *XVI. Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress. Akten I/1* (Vienna 1981) 337-353; C.Bouras, 'City and village: urban design and architecture', *op.cit.*, 611-653; A.Kazhdan, 'Moneta e società', *La cultura bizantina: oggetti e messaggio. Moneta ed economia* (Rome 1986) 203-236; W.Brandes, 'Die byzantinische Stadt Kleinasien im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert — ein Forschungsbericht', *Klio* 70 (1988) 176-208; *idem*, *Die Städte Kleinasien im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert* (Berliner Byzantinistische Arbeiten 56. Berlin 1989); J.F.Haldon, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century: the Transformation of a Culture* (Cambridge 1990), 92-124.

55. For the inappropriateness of Claudio Vita-Finzi's notorious general model of climatic-environmental change around the Mediterranean beginning in Late Antiquity see in general D.Davidson, 'Erosion in Greece during the first and second millenia B.C.', *Timescales in geomorphology*, edd. R.Cullingford et al. (Wiley-Interscience 1980) 143-158; J. Wagstaff, 'Buried assumptions: some problems in the interpretation of the "Younger Fill" raised by recent data from Greece', *Journal of Archaeological Science* 8 (1981) 247-264; S.Bottema, *art.cit.* n.23, 276-7 (the absence of any palynological indicators of climatic change to accompany geomorphic events); Renfrew-Wagstaff, *An Island Polity* 92-3. A strong case for the continuity of the climatic regime is made by the S Argolid Exploration Project: see van Andel-Runnels-Pope, *art.cit.* n.31, 123-28, and Runnels-van Andel, *art.cit.* n.26. The Aegean Dendrochronology Project finds unequivocal evidence throughout Anatolia and the Balkans for a shared and consistent regime during the historical era. See P.Kuniholm, 'Aegean Dendrochronology Report. Expedition to Greece 1979-1980', *National Geographic Society Research Reports 1979-1980* (unpublished), 2-5; *idem*, 'Aegean

(accessibility of timber and the location of minerals; a local propensity to erosion) upon such temporal fluctuations.

One could read ten years ago that 'The history of Byzantine land clearing has yet to be written'.⁵⁶ Clearly though the real field of enquiry is economic history, particularly regional economic history. And although what landscape-studies can so far tell us about economic history is enigmatic, they are for Byzantinists a necessary instrument. Pollen-profiles may reveal few if any aspects of the exploitation of woodland and scrubland other than broad patterns of felling and clearance, but they inform the study of some overarching aspects of their exploitation in the Byzantine world (the trajectories, periodicity, and general geographical aspect of depletion and regeneration and its cyclicity or non-cyclicity), and thus provide one of the instruments with which the still purely qualitative models of changing levels of activity in the Byzantine economy, above all in the rural economy, may eventually be tested.⁵⁷ Meanwhile the phytogeographic and ethnographic projects mentioned above indicate the likely impacts of the major types of exploitation during the historical era. More regional studies are needed in which the decline and resurgence (or other patterns) of settlement-activity can be juxtaposed with palynological profiles. That at least is technically possible in some regions. Most of the profiles referred to in this discussion were not sought or examined within an archaeological and historical framework.

Dendrochronology Project. Spring 1982 Progress Report' (Cornell University, Department of Classics), 1; *idem* — C.Striker, 'Dendrochronological investigations in the Aegean and neighbouring regions, 1977-1982', *Journal of Field Archaeology* 10 (1983) 412-414. More recently initiated projects in historical geomorphology also find no evidence of climatic change in the historical era. See T.van Andel-E.Zangger, 'Landscape stability and destabilisation in the prehistory of Greece', *Man's role in the shaping of the Eastern Mediterranean landscape*, 139-57.

56. A.Kazhdan-G.Constable, *People and power in Byzantium: an Introduction to Modern Byzantine Studies* (Washington D.C. 1982) 49.

57. For the best such qualitative model see *Harvey*.

III

If it can be accepted that woodland and scrubland were extensive, not scarce, in most parts of the Byzantine world, including most of the semi-arid parts (where arborescent and non-arborescent scrubland was more typical than woodland), despite fluctuations in extent; that exploitation for subsistence was considerable but largely sustainable; that in aggregate exploitation-levels rose and fell in accordance to some extent with political, fiscal, and proprietorial conditions; conversely that recognisable changes in the level of afforestation do not reflect vague and unproven transformations of the E. Mediterranean climatic regime; and if the range and importance of exploitations can now be established too, then elements of a framework for a discussion of the political and proprietorial control of this sphere of activity will be in place.

Given the anecdotal nature of the Byzantine evidence, an outline of the range of exploitations can be little more than a descriptive exercise. Much of the evidence, Byzantine and related, can be conveniently tabulated, particularly that concerning arboreal extracts (see VI). The tabulated evidence is Late Antique (the Price Edict of Diocletian of 301 A.D., in Greek and Latin versions from Greece and Anatolia),⁵⁸ and Middle and Late Byzantine, supplemented by references to Frankish and Arab phases of regional occupation. It is necessary in fact to relate the Late Antique and later Byzantine references to ancient, Islamic, Frankish, and post-Byzantine, evidence, and to juxtapose Byzantine references of many types, so as to suggest, wherever possible, that however casual one reference may be it fits into a very long-term pattern of economic activities.

Every part of every tree or shrub, wild or cultivated, was useful in some way. Some sense of this can be gained from reading the *Geoponica*, the Byzantine agronomic work of the mid tenth cen-

58. See *Lauffer* 1, for the date.

tury.⁵⁹ The *Geoponica*, while having three of its twenty books devoted to trees and some shrubs, is in no sense systematic though, and is not concerned with that which has not been planted.⁶⁰ The detail of the range of uses is therefore better indicated by E. Mediterranean ethnography. But several forms of exploitation at source, corresponding to various kinds of primary products, can be clearly identified historically: felling (primarily for timber); the tapping of a range of resiniferous trees and shrubs; the gathering of wild parasites, crops, and leaves, from certain trees and shrubs as raw materials for tanning and dyeing and for a range of extracts; the stripping of bark for the same purposes; the pasture of pigs on the wild crops (pannage); and hunting. Another major form of exploitation, coppicing and pollarding, which is implicit in Byzantine references to rights to gather firewood in particular places, has been shown by fieldwork to have been practised in spontaneously occurring woodland and scrubland for centuries (see II). Clearance for agriculture or grazing does not concern us, but was of course a potentially gainful activity.

These are effectively the forms of exploitation. Beyond saying that they were considerable operations though, their size and profitability is, it goes without saying, not known for Byzantine Anatolia and S. Balkans. But it is worth considering the functional importance of the products and the evidence of their commercialisation.

Timber was a resource of particular importance for military and naval equipment and for 'strategic' reasons, and was the raw material for many elements of Byzantine architecture (except on the Anatolian plateau),⁶¹ for furniture,⁶² instruments, tableware,

59. See 'Geoponika', *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* II, 834.

60. *Geoponica*, Books 9-11, Book 9 concerns the olive-tree.

61. See for instance C. Mango, *Byzantine architecture* (London 1986) 11-12, and 'Wood and Woodworking', *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* III, 2204.

62. See for instance S. Goitein, *A Mediterranean society, the Jewish communities of the Arab world as portrayed in the documents of the Cairo Geniza I. Economic foundations* (University of California 1967), hereafter *Goitein*, 46, for the exporting of wooden chests, cupboards, and bedsteads, from *Rum* to Egypt in the Middle Byzantine period; and *Koukoules* II/A, 208, for professional wood-carvers.

and mechanisms,⁶³ and decor, both secular and religious.⁶⁴ Besides the physical evidence of the use of timber in surviving monuments there is a growing body of evidence in descriptions of properties, inventories, and wills.⁶⁵

The products of coppicing and pollarding (firewood, wood for charcoal-making, for light building materials, and also for leaf-fodder) represent another immensely important resource.⁶⁶ Arboreal resins had an enormous range of applications, in the preservation of all wood, and, together with arboreal gums, medicinal, dietary, and aromatic, applications.⁶⁷ In the era of natural dyes the importance of the wild arboreal crops, arboreal parasites, and leaves, used for dyeing cloth,⁶⁸ and the range of agents used for tanning and dyeing leather, including leaves, acorn-cups, bark, and tree-roots, from woodland and scrubland, is obvious.⁶⁹ From the leaves, shoots, seeds, and berries, of a

63. *Koukoules* II/A, 197 and 198-9. For the commercialisation of wooden tableware in the late medieval Balkans see B.Cvetkova, *Vie économique des villes et ports balkaniques aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles* (Paris 1971) 93 (Table 7).

64. See L.-A.Hunt, 'Byzantine woodwork', *The Macmillans Dictionary of Art* (forthcoming), which I am most grateful to the author for allowing me to read. See also 'Wood and Woodworking', *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*.

65. See for instance the mentions of wooden fixtures in buildings in the inventory of the possessions of the monastery of Iveron: *Athos XVI. Iviron* II, no.52 (1104), among many others the church whose narthex has some wooden pillars (ll. 189-90), the largely wooden building, an ἡλιακὸς (of a type which still existed in Macedonia at the beginning of this century, under the same name) (ll. 334-5), or the πύργος . . . πεντάπατος πεπατωμένος διὰ πατερῶν καὶ σανίδων πελεκητῶν καὶ περιφραγμένος ὁμοίως διὰ σανίδων (ll. 434-5).

66. The range of such products is documented by the Price Edict of 301, which regulates the prices of loads of various sizes of branches, stakes, and poles, and loads of woodchips and moss (*Diocletian* 14.1a and 7-12). See *Meiggs* 206, 246 and 263, for the practice of coppicing in Antiquity. For the ethnographic evidence of its importance see the works cited at n.13. For leaf-fodder see VI: OAKTREE.

67. See VI: CEDAR, EUPHORBIA, FIR-TREE, GALBANE, JUNIPER, MASTIC, MASTICH-TREE, PINE-TREE, PITCH, RESIN, ΣΤΡΟΒΙΛΑΙΑ, STYRAX, TEREBINTH, TEPEBINΘINH, ΤΡΑΓΑΚΑΝΘΑ.

68. See VI: GALBANE, GALLS, OAK-TREE, ΠΙΝΟΚΟΚΚΙΟΝ, SUMACH, TEPEBINΘINH.

69. See VI: BARK, CAROB-TREE, GALLS, HOLLY OAK, HOLMOAK, SUMACH, TEPEBINΘINH.

range of trees and shrubs were also derived other medicinal, aromatic, dietary, fumigant, and cleansing, substances.⁷⁰ Pan-nage, so important for seasonal pig-fattening, is an exploitation recorded in Byzantine Macedonia, Anatolia, and Morea.⁷¹ Hunting and trapping too, whose importance in Byzantine culture has been well illustrated by Koukoules,⁷² were essentially practised in woodland and scrubland, and were universal subsistence-activities (see IV and V).

The importance of such products and activities is self-evident. And woodland- and scrubland-products were naturally highly tradeable.⁷³ A great many artisans will have depended upon them, or, put another way, upon the producers and their intermediaries: woodcutters and carpenters (ξύλουργοί, ματρικάριοι), timber-dealers (ξύλοπράται), charcoal-makers and sellers (άνθρακεῖς, καρβωνάριοι),⁷⁴ and upon those who actually created the whole range of arboreal extracts.⁷⁵ Towns in general depended upon traders for firewood.⁷⁶ And the state had a strong practical interest in the supply of timber, fuel, resins, and dyes, and a general fiscal interest in all exploitations of woodland and scrubland (for which see IV).

The commercialisation of the fundamental categories of arboreal products can be detected, and its regularity and considerable scale inferred, from the Arab geographers (the dearth of Byzantine references to this being almost as bad as that faced by Vryonis in his attempt to trace the continuity of mining through the Byzantine era). They refer explicitly to the exportation of

70. See VI: BAY-TREE, CAMEL'S THORN, CASTOR-TREE, CHASTE-TREE, CHRIST'S THORN, JUNIPER, SUMACH, TEPEBINÖNH, WORMWOOD.

71. See VI: CAROB-TREE, CHESTNUT, MAST.

72. See Koukoules V 387-423; Malamut, *Les îles de l'empire byzantin* II 433; D.Zakythinos, *Le despotat grec de Morée* II. *Vie et institutions* (London 1975) 246-7.

73. See evidence cited under entries in VI for products other than timber. For timber see the present section.

74. See Koukoules II/A 195 and II/B 207-8 and 213 for the producers and middlemen.

75. Of the makers of arboreal extracts we know next to nothing, but for the *masticharioi* of Chios see IV and V.

76. See Meiggs as cited n.66 and the discussion of trade in the present section.

timber from Crete, Cyprus, and northern and western Syria, when these were under partial or total Muslim control.⁷⁷ By the 970s the Byzantine emperor, having reconquered all these places, could end this traffic, or rather redirect it, at the same time as he sought to control the movement of timber and its by-products throughout the empire (see below and IV). The evidence, ambiguous though it is, indicates (as will be seen) that the traffic was directed away from the Muslim world, but that the internal traffic of the Byzantine world was eventually left alone by the emperors. So although there are no obvious *Byzantine* references to the timber-trade of reconquered Cyprus, Crete, and Syria, or for the matter of the reconquered Taurus and Antitaurus, discontinuity of traffic should not be imagined. There is good evidence for the exportation of timber from Cyprus, Crete, Syria, and S.E. Anatolia in the later Middle Ages.⁷⁸ The trading of timber from N.E. Anatolia, to which references also only begin in the late Byzantine period,⁷⁹ is also most unlikely to have only begun then, given the evidence of early medieval shipbuilding (the evidence

77. See Lombard, 'Arsenaux et bois de marine . . .' (cited n.53) 114-8. Mango refers also to the importation of fifty trunks of pine and cedar from Cyprus to Jerusalem in the early ninth century for the restoration of the Anastasis Church: see his *Byzantine Architecture* 12. Cyprus was at this time a Byzantine-Muslim 'condominium'.

78. See for instance F.Thiriet, 'Problemi dell' amministrazione veneziana nella Romania XIV-XV sec.', *Venezia e il Levante fino al sec. XV* (Florence 1973) 778; *idem*, 'Candie, grande place marchande dans la première moitié du XV^e siècle', *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 15 (1963) 342 (for Crete); D.Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete from the 5th century to the Venetian Conquest* (Athens 1988) 275-6 (for Crete); P.Racine, 'Marchands placentins a l'Aïas à la fin du XIII^e siècle', *BF* 4 (1972) 201 (for SE Anatolia); Francesco Pegolotti, *La pratica della mercatura*, ed. A.Evans (Cambridge Mass. 1936) 86 (for Cyprus).

79. M.Balard, *La Romanie génoise (XIII^e — début du XV^e siècle)* (École française de Rome 1978) 851; P.Strässle, *Der internationale Schwarzmeerhandel und Konstantinopel 1261-1484 im Spiegel der sowjetischen Forschung* (Bern 1990) 122 and IV, n.158.

again is Arabic).⁸⁰ The same is probably true for the Albanian coast.⁸¹

The regionally specific record is very much a function then of the survival of evidence of western commercial penetration in the later Middle Ages. Only in Macedonia, for which there is more Middle Byzantine archival material than for other E. Mediterranean regions, can one glimpse the Byzantine timber-trade prior to western penetration. In 972 the emperor John I had forbidden the traffic in firewood (δάδια) from the Athos peninsula.⁸² Firewood is very often the by-product of felling and logging. This is clearer in the imperial regulations for the Athonite communities of the year 1045, which refer to the monasteries' exploitation and sale of ξύλον ἐργάσιμον καὶ σανίδια καὶ δάδας καὶ πίσσαν ('timber and planks and firewood and pitch').⁸³ The monks' vessels certainly traded as far as Thessalonica, Ainos, and Constantinople, and each community will have had its *xylokopeion*, like the one recorded in 1089.⁸⁴ The later Macedonian evidence, such as it is, conforms to the pattern of other regions of the Byzantine world: a reference to the exportation of timber (*lignamen*) by Latins in 1278.⁸⁵

80. *La géographie d'Edrisi*, ed. P.-A. Jaubert, II (Paris 1840) 393: Idrisi, referring to 'Lanio' on the Pontic coast between Sinope and Kerasous, in 'Laz' country, identified by Jaubert with Ünye, Byzantine *Oinaion*, writes 'On y construit des navires et embarcations de guerre'. Idrisi wrote in the twelfth century and culled much of his information from earlier Arab geographers. But it remains basically a Middle Byzantine reference. For Byzantine *Oinaion* and its 'heavily wooded' hinterland see A. Bryer-D. Winfield, *The Byzantine Monuments and Topography of the Pontus* (Washington D.C. 1985) 101 onwards.

81. See A. Ducellier, *La façade maritime de l'Albanie au moyen âge* (Thessalonike 1981) 60, for the evidence of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. See also B. Krečić, *Dubrovnik (Raguse) et le Levant au moyen âge* (Paris 1961) 108 n.5.

82. *Athos VII. Prôtaton*, no.7 (972) ll. 139-40.

83. *Op.cit.*, no.8 (1045) ll. 102-3.

84. *Op.cit.*, no.8, ll. 60-7 and 99-101 for the directions of maritime traffic. A *xylokopeion* is mentioned in a delimitation of boundaries on Mount Athos: *Athos XV. Xenophon*, no.1 (1089) l. 135.

85. G. Tafel-G. Thomas, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig mit besonderer Beziehung auf Byzanz und die Levante*, III (Vienna 1856) 278: the ship concerned was sailing 'de Saloniche' when robbed at sea by Greeks.

Quite apart from the special needs of artisans (particularly for charcoal),⁸⁶ the supply of urban populations with fuel (firewood and charcoal) will always have been commercially worthwhile. Wood is described as one of the four necessities which the villagers brought to the urban markets of S.W. Anatolia in the Life of St Nicolas of Sion in the late sixth century.⁸⁷ Its profitability, organisation, and importance, in classical Greece and Roman Italy have been recently discussed.⁸⁸ The fuels are listed in the Price Edict of 301.⁸⁹ It was clearly profitable for the monasteries of Athos to take firewood by sea, perhaps not only from Athos but also from their estates in other wooded parts of the Khalkidike, to urban markets. Thessalonica was still being supplied with wood from the southern Khalkidike by sea in the mid nineteenth century.⁹⁰ It is possible that the market for firewood (*legna da ardere*) which Francesco Pegolotti noted at the port of Rhodes in the early fourteenth century, around the time of its seizure from the Byzantine state, both supplied and was fed by a maritime traffic.⁹¹ The scale of such operations has been demonstrated by ethnographers for small rural communities. Urban data however is problematic. The Genoese city-government of Pera, opposite Constantinople, bought 25000 *cantares* of wood in 1390 and 1391 for fuel and housebuilding.⁹² This is only about 340 tons however.⁹³ If a traditional rural community in southern Greece

86. See *Koukoulès* II/A 195 and 217-8, and IV 441.

87. See Harrison, *art.cit.* n.36,226 (quoting the *vita* of St. Nicolas of Sion cap.52), the four necessities there being wood, wheat, flour and wine.

88. See *Meiggs* as cited n.66. See also S.Olson, 'Firewood and charcoal in classical Athens', *Hesperia* 60 (1991) 411-420, particularly 415-419 for the supply of cities as an entrepreneurial operation.

89. See note 66 above.

90. See for instance H.Tozer, *The islands of the Aegean* (Oxford 1890) 279: near the southern cape of Pallene (the Kassandreia Peninsula) 'a vessel was lying in readiness to carry timber to Salonica'. Tozer visited Athos in 1861 (*op.cit.*, 280) and Thessalonica in 1865 (*op.cit.*, 277).

91. Pegolotti, *La pratica della mercatura*, 104. For Pegolotti's assemblage of data over the years ca. 1310-1340 see Evans' introduction xii-xv.

92. Balard, *La Romanie génoise*, 390.

93. See F.Thiriet, *Régestes des délibérations du sénat de Venise concernant la Romanie* I (Paris 1958) 228 for the *cantare*.

used about 735 tons of firewood in one year,⁹⁴ then the *officiales electi ad emendum ligna (sic)* of Pera were only paying for a fraction of the community's needs for fuel.

The commercialisation of most arboreal extracts was also, like that of timber, firewood, and charcoal, probably ubiquitous. Most extracts were essential items in pre-industrial societies such as Byzantium. Some of course were luxuries. The parts of the Byzantine world with which we are concerned were the sources of many essential and 'luxurious' extracts which could not be produced in temperate Europe.⁹⁵ We are therefore dealing with products sought both within and beyond the Byzantine world.

The Price Edict of 301, in which most major arboreal products are mentioned, does specify some geographical sources, mostly of items that could not be found everywhere: for the mastic and natural turpentine of Chios, for a particular quality of resin or pitch from Phrygia, for storax of Cilicia and Syria, for Pontic wormwood and castor oil.⁹⁶ Besides Anatolian and Aegean places of origin, the region which emerges as a major source of long-distance trade in timber, arboreal extracts, and the raw materials whence these come, is Syria.⁹⁷ Incoming Syrian merchants even merit a special mention in the early tenth-century Book of the Eparch,⁹⁸ the only non-Byzantine group (as they were at that time) to do so. They are those associated with the importation of *μυρεψικά* and *βαφικά*, literally 'aromatic' substances and dyes.⁹⁹ *Myrepsika* however had a broader meaning in Byzantine Greek, referring to most of the extracts mentioned in this

94. See Forbes-Koster *art.cit.* n.13,121 (Table 5).

95. See O.Polunin, *Trees and bushes of Europe* (Oxford 1976), hereafter *Polunin*, under entries for individual trees and shrubs.

96. Castor-tree oil (*Aezani* 34.76-77; Mastic (*Diocletian* 36.63; *Aezani* 34.17); terebinthinae (*Diocletian* 36.127-8); resin or pitch (*Diocletian* 36.130; *Aezani* 34.76-7); storax (*Diocletian* 36.57-8); wormwood (*Aezani* 34.19).

97. Syria is recorded as the source of cedar-wood, galbane, galls, styrax, sumach, terebinth-products and tragacanth (see VI).

98. For an origin *ca.* 911-12 see *Das Eparchenbuch Leons des Weisen*, ed. J.Koder (CFHB 32, Vienna 1991), hereafter *Eparch*, 31-2.

99. *Eparch* 5.4.

section.¹⁰⁰ A range of these regionally occurring substances are recorded being exported from Syria both before and after the Byzantine reconquest of the arboriferous parts of Syria in the mid tenth century. So although the Book of the Eparch names only the most exotic substances, which really came from the Arabian peninsula, Palestine, India and beyond, its non-specific reference to others, the *myrepsika* and *vaphika*, should refer in practice to many of Syria's traditional arboreal products.¹⁰¹

IV

Strategic, logistic, and fiscal, considerations ensured that the Byzantine state took some interest in the exploitation of arboreal resources, quite apart from the general fiscal interest which it took in the circulation and exchange of products, arboreal and other.

The strategic consideration, the conservation of timber suitable for warship-construction and other public uses, and denial of access to hostile powers, was both an ancient one and a concern of western medieval rulers.¹⁰² The early Islamic states' quest for timber around the southern parts of the Middle Byzantine empire has already been mentioned.¹⁰³ An element of the Byzantine response, the establishment of the 'maritime provinces', whose inhabitants' tax-burden was characterised by its orientation towards the needs of the fleet, in effect the needs of provincial fleets, has been closely examined by Byzantinists.¹⁰⁴ These Mid-

100. See *Koukoulès* II/A 205-7.

101. See n.97 for the principal recorded arboreal exports of medieval Syria. See *Eparch* 10.1 for the itemised products (non-Syrian).

102. See for instance *Meiggs* 85-6 for Antiquity. For the early medieval west see Wickham, *art.cit.* n.19, 524-5.

103. See Lombard, *art.cit.* n.53, particularly 134-8.

104. Principally H.Ahrweiler, 'Fonctionnaires et bureaux maritimes à Byzance', *REB* 31 (1961) 239-52; *eadem*, *Byzance et la mer. La marine de guerre, la politique, et les institutions maritimes de Byzance aux VI^e-XV^e siècles* (Paris 1966); for late seventh-century arrangements, H.Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Études d'histoire maritime de Byzance à propos du thème des Caravisiens* (Paris 1966); and now for the main developments, Malamut, *Les îles de l'empire byzantin*, I 296-334 (and maps 644-6).

dle Byzantine provinces covered much of the south coast of Asia Minor and most if not all of the Aegean islands. Within the Aegean the circumscriptions were frequently altered for reasons that are not clear, but these maritime or fleet-building provinces will always have had among their functions that of the strategic protection of the timber-resources of those regions against the Islamic states.

Strategic considerations also affected imperial subjects' access to timber and freedom to dispose of their own timber. The emperors of the ninth and tenth centuries, certainly from the reign of Leo V, at the time of the Arab conquest of Crete, forbade the sale of timber to the Muslims.¹⁰⁵ The state's requirements and the need to deny access to aggressors gave it two reasons for seeking to control felling and the timber-trade. Such thinking would explain the emperor Constantine IX's insertion of a general ban on the sale of timber, boards, and pitch, by the monasteries of Mount Athos into the *Typikon* of 1045, better than the ostensible reason given, that the monks should be devoting themselves to their prayers and oraisons.¹⁰⁶ The ban concerns precisely the arboreal products which the state is later shown, through requests for and grants of immunity from provision, to have nonetheless sought for imperial fleets (v.i.).

Not that it was the Islamic states that seemed to pose a threat in the mid eleventh century, but Kievan Russia, whose fleet appeared in the Bosphorus in 1043 and which Constantine IX could not at that moment confront effectively. Besides the need for a new Constantinopolitan fleet, there had also been a considerable naval commitment to campaigns in southern Italy and Sicily, and there is evidence of a naval squadron active in the northern Aegean at this time.¹⁰⁷ So Constantine, by attempting to control felling and production for the market, was perhaps trying to ad-

105. See Lombard, *art.cit.* n.53,133-4.

106. *Athos VIII. Prôtaton*, no.8 (1045) ll. 102-3, where it is stated that the trade existed: ἐξάγουσί τινες τῶν μοναχῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὄρους διὰ πλοίων καὶ ἀπεμπολοῦσι ταῦτα.

107. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer*, 122-9.

dress the needs implied by these circumstances. The environmental evidence that felling was beginning to overtake regeneration in Greece and Anatolia from the ninth century onwards (v.s.) is perhaps also relevant.

As there is no evidence of attempts to perpetuate Constantine IX's ban, we may assume that, as regards the empire's internal traffic, it lapsed. But the export-ban of the ninth and tenth centuries was probably still enforced. It is significant that timber does not appear among western merchants' exports from the Byzantine world before the upheavals of the early thirteenth century.¹⁰⁸ Emperors moreover could still exert direct control over woodlands and scrublands which were imperial properties. The wardens of imperial woodland can be identified in a document of the year 1073.¹⁰⁹ And Niketas Choniates, recounting the approach of the Franks and Venetians in 1202-1203, castigates the wardens (οἱ . . . περιφύτων ὁρῶν φύλακες) for preventing anyone from cutting timber for shipbuilding (τοῖς ἐκτεμεῖν προθεμένοις ἐκεῖθεν ξύλα ἅττα ναυπηγήσιμα).¹¹⁰ Normally though these *phylakes* were only carrying out their duties in this respect. They could be seen as the heirs of the Roman *saltuarii*.¹¹¹

108. See R.-J. Lilie, *Handel und Politik zwischen dem byzantinischen Reich und den italienischen Kommunen Venedig, Pisa und Genua in der Epoche der Komnenen und der Angeloi (1081-1204)* (Amsterdam 1984) 264-84 ('Die Handelsobjekte'). The Venetians were exporting central European timber to Egypt (*op.cit.* 266). But their exportation of Cretan timber begins shortly after the division of the Byzantine empire in 1204: Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete from the 5th century to the Venetian conquest* 275.

109. See Βυζαντινά έγγραφα της μονής Πάτμου Β' — δημοσίων λειτουργιών, ed. M. Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou (Athens 1980), hereafter *Patmos* II, no. 50 (1073) ll. 151, 152. Imperial estates in W Asia Minor, charges for the exploitation of which indicate that they contained much woodland and scrubland (see V), were controlled by ὀροφύλακες. But an examination of the photographs of the document confirms that the scribe put rough breathings for smooth all too frequently (ἐννόμιον τοῦ ὄρους, ἴσοδος . . .). I would therefore read ὀροφύλαξ, just as one must read ὄρους. *Orophylax* recalls the woodland-charge of *orokopion*, for which see n. 128.

110. *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, ed. J. van Dieten (Berlin 1975) 540 l. 47-541 l. 1.

111. See *Meiggs* 330 for the *saltuarii*.

A strategic policy towards timber was perhaps maintained by the emperors of Nicaea in the thirteenth century, who built and maintained fleets in the Aegean and the Sea of Marmora.¹¹² Their economic protectionism is documented in other ways.¹¹³ But there is no trace of a general policy operating after the late thirteenth century, when Michael VIII gave the Venetians permission to buy whatever they needed for shipbuilding,¹¹⁴ and Andronikos II effectively scuppered the Byzantine fleet.¹¹⁵ His officials did in 1319 prevent the Venetians from exporting a shipload of wood from Thessalonica.¹¹⁶ But although the successors of Andronikos II maintained naval squadrons there is no further trace of interference with the timber-trade until immediately after the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople.¹¹⁷

The abandonment of a strategic perspective does not mean that the Byzantine state ever lost its logistic interest in the supply of timber and other arboreal products — a supply which could be met by several means, using as already indicated for Athos, the resources of landowners, besides of course the resources of imperial properties. The problem is that of the history of the Byzantine state's various fiscal and economic instruments of acquisi-

112. For the Nicaean fleet see Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer* 304 onwards, and M. Angold, *A Byzantine government in exile. Government and Society under the Laskarids of Nicaea (1204-1261)* (Oxford 1975) 196-201.

113. Angold, *op.cit.* 116 onwards.

114. See Ahrweiler, *op.cit.*, 426-7 for this concession.

115. Ahrweiler, *op.cit.*, 376 onwards; D. Nicol, *The last centuries of Byzantium 1261-1453* (London 1972) 114-15.

116. K. Mertzios, *Μνημεία μακεδονικής ιστορίας* (Thessalonike 1947) 20-21, summarising an entry in the Venetian *Commemoriali*. For the nature of this archive see briefly F. Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitienne au moyen âge* (Paris 1959) 21. Andronikos II attempted to assert or re-assert other exporting restrictions which remind one of imperial monopolies, for instance upon salt and mastic: see J. Chrysostomides, 'Venetian commercial privileges under the Palaeologi', *Studi veneziani* 12 (1970) 273.

117. See F. Thiriet, *Régestes des délibérations du sénat de Venise concernant la Romanie* III (Paris 1961) no. 2994 (1455), summarising a document to be found in H. Noiret, *Documents pour servir à l'histoire de la Crète sous la domination vénitienne 1380-1485* (Paris 1892) 444: 'inde (Constantinople) deferebatur huc (Crete) maxima copia lignaminis dogarum', a trade then banned.

tion and of whether and when the balance may have shifted among them.

The *Codex Theodosianus* includes decrees of the late fourth century partially exempting private estates from levies of timber and cut boards, and of charcoal-production.¹¹⁸ The Early Byzantine state was also a considerable owner of woodland and scrubland in its own right.¹¹⁹ It needed large quantities of timber and fuel for shipbuilding, for the mints, for the armourers' forges, for the *cursus publicus*, for mines and public works, for the army and the *palatium*. The levies being reduced in the Theodosian Code are the *sordida munera*, uncompensated levies in kind, in other words *corvées*.¹²⁰

The Middle Byzantine state's needs were almost identical, as grants of immunity from various charges show. It too, at any one time, held very extensive properties on a number of accounts for the crown and the fisc.¹²¹

Perhaps the timber-requirements of the Middle Byzantine provincial fleets of the Aegean and southern Anatolia could be met by ships' crews felling trees in imperial forests within those pro-

118. *CTh.* xi, 16.15; xi, 16.18 (*Theodosiani Libri XVI cum Constitutionibus Sirmondianis*, ed. Th.Mommsen, P.Meyer et al. [Berlin 1905]; Eng. transl. C.Pharr et al., *The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions*, [Princeton 1952] 11.16.15 [A.D. 382] and 11.16.18 [A.D. 390]).

119. See A.H.M.Jones, *The Later Roman Empire 284-602: a social, economic and administrative survey*, II (Oxford 1964) 788-9, and Henty 637-8, for the scale of imperial possessions. See *CTh.* v,12.2; v,13; v,14.31 and vii.7.2, for the leasing of imperial *saltus*(woodland/scrubland-pasture) and farmland.

120. The needs of the mints and armourers are mentioned in the imperial concession of the year A.D. 382. See Meiggs 258-9 for evidence of emperors' assumption of responsibility in Late Antiquity for organising the fuel-supply of the public baths of Rome. The needs of the fleet, public works, and *Cursus Publicus* were also certainly, mines and the fuel-supply of Constantinople probably, imperial responsibilities. For indications of the *Cursus*' own arboreal needs see Jones, *op.cit.*, 833 and for the status of mines 838.

121. See Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer* 141-2 and 147, n.1 for their support of provincial forces; Henty 87-90 for the Balkans, and 104 and 106 for Eastern Anatolia and Syria; N.Oikonomides, 'L'organisation de la frontière orientale de Byzance aux X^e-XI^e siècles et le Taktikon de l'Escoriale', *Actes du XIV^e congrès international des études byzantines*, I (Bucharest 1974) 300 for the eastern frontier.

vines. This is the practise revealed by the emperor Constantine VII when he describes arrangements made at the time of his expedition against Muslim-held Crete in the year 943. Three ships' companies were left behind in the two regions to cut the wood required for the coming fiscal year (εἰς τὸ κόψαι τὴν τῆς ὀγδότης ἰνδικτίονος ξυλὴν).¹²² But the Middle Byzantine state clearly also retained its predecessor's right to levy arboreal products from the properties of individuals and communities, impositions included under the general headings of ἀγγαρεῖαι or ἐπιηρεῖαι.¹²³ These impositions, as revealed by grants of immunity therefrom, could be serious: the felling and transportation of wood (κοπῆς καὶ καταβίβασμοῦ οἰασδήτινος ξυλῆς vel sim.),¹²⁴ the provision of sawn planks (πρίσεως σανίδων),¹²⁵ the construction of warships and other vessels (καρaboποιῖας, κατεργοκτισίας, and specified types of vessel),¹²⁶ and the provision of pitch,¹²⁷ and charcoal (variously παροχῆς and καύσεως καρβῶνων).¹²⁸ Such

122. *Constantini Porphyrogeniti imperatoris De Cerimoniis Aulae Byzantinae*, ed. J. Reiske, I (Bonn 1829) 665. This illustrates the special nature of the marine *strateia*. The 'eighth indication' refers, of course, to the eighth year of the fifteen-year indictional cycle.

123. For the general applicability of these rights (barring specifically exempted groups), in theory assessed according to fiscal ratings, see A. Stavridou-Zaphraka, 'Η ἀγγαρεῖα στο βυζάντιο', *Βυζαντινά* 11 (1982) 36-8 and 40-1 (early and middle Byzantine evidence), where also evidence of the exploitation of imperial properties. These rights could affect any sphere of economic activity.

124. *Athos V. Lavra I*, no. 48 (1086) l. 42; *Βυζαντινά έγγραφα τῆς μονῆς Πάτμου Α – αυτοκρατορικά*, ed. E. Vranouse (Athens 1980), hereafter *Patmos I*, no. 6 (1088) l. 56; *Lavra I*, no. 51 (1092), ll. 11-12; *MM IV*, no. 1 (1228) 4 (Lembos); *MM IV*, no. 2 (1235) 17 (Lembos).

125. *Lavra I*, no. 48 (1086) ll. 42-3; *Patmos I*, no. 6 (1088) ll. 57-8. There is also the obscure provision στραβοξύλης, which it has been proposed means the planking of the lower hull (*Ducange*, s.v.): *Patmos I*, no. 7 (1088) l. 22; *Patmos I*, no. 8 (1119) l. 7; *Patmos I*, no. 11 (1197) l. 25. Its continued appearance among immunities throughout the twelfth century is interesting.

126. *Lavra I*, no. 48 (1086) l. 43; *Patmos I*, no. 6 (1088) l. 57; *MM IV*, no. 1 (1228) 4; *MM IV*, no. 2 (1235) 17.

127. *MM IV*, nos. 1 and 2 as cited above.

128. *Lavra I*, no. 51 (1092) l. 12; *MM IV*, nos. 1 and 2 as cited above. See J. Haldon, *Byzantine Praetorians* (Bonn 1984) n. 978 for the levying of charcoal from estates and for the clearly related levying of iron (presumably as ore).

levies would have supplied the needs of fleets, and also armies and garrisons, some of whose needs are spelt out in a Middle Byzantine military treatise.¹²⁹

The Late Byzantine state retained a right to such services, as evidence from Macedonia and the Peloponnese shows.¹³⁰ Among specific impositions the most burdensome, κατεργοκτησία/κτίσις κατέργων, is listed as an immunity in chrysobulls of 1280-81 and 1298,¹³¹ and a levy of wood and fodder, the ξυλάχυρον, which was probably for troops, is itemised in 1332 (and in later Serbian documents concerning S.E. Macedonia).¹³² But these specific late references are so rare that one can conclude that the emphasis among the various instruments of acquisition had finally shifted.

In fact, while pure *corvée* could be and was practised,¹³³ the same term, *angareia*, had long been applied also to obligatory paid work, hire, and sale to the state.¹³⁴ The state's means of meeting its needs in the respects which concern us were undoubtedly varied at all times. The emperor Constantine VII who used a kind of *militia* for timber-felling, refers both to the requisitioning of pitch and to the purchase in large quantities of liquid pitch, 'pitch' (presumably hard pitch), and cedar-oil or resin, for his

129. That the army needed pitch, timber, and firewood is stressed by a middle Byzantine military treatise: see *Three Byzantine Military Treatises*, ed. G.Dennis (Washington, D.C. 1985) 63.63; 30.14 and 26.9-10, for each of these items respectively. The commercialisation of firewood from the Athos Peninsula was forbidden by John I in 972 (*Prôtaton*, no.7, ll. 139-40) and by Constantine IX in 1045 (*Prôtaton*, no.8, ll. 102-3).

130. See Stavridou-Zaphraka, *art.cit.* n.123,33,34,37 and nn.72-3,80 and 98.

131. *Athos XIII. Docheiariou*, no.9 (1280/1) l. 40; *Athos VIII. Lavra II*, no.89 (1298) l. 162 onwards. This immunity is also listed in a chrysobull of the Tsar Stefan Dušan: *Athos VI. Esphigménou*, no.24 (1347) l. 31.

132. For examples of immunity from the *xylakhyron* see *Esphigménou*, no.23 (1347) l. 31 and *Les archives de Saint-Jean-Prodrôme sur le mont Ménécée*, ed. A.Guillou (Paris 1955), no.26 (1332) l. 67; *Athos XV. Xénophon*, no.29 (1352) l.20; in fact in only one instance a Byzantine document (that of 1332).

133. Stavridou-Zaphraka, *art.cit.* n.123, *passim*.

134. Stavridou-Zaphraka, *art.cit.* n.123,30 and n.57 (early and middle Byzantine evidence).

Cretan expedition of 943.¹³⁵ A Middle Byzantine military treatise refers to the practice of hiring wood-bearers.¹³⁶ And fiscal commutation of demands was always a possibility for some.¹³⁷

But the frequent itemisation of such demands for raw materials, products, and equipment, among immunities from the eleventh century onwards, instead of the earlier generalised immunity from *angareiai*, suggests the continued extraction of materials and labour rather than the commutation which had by this date affected service (στρατεία, service in lieu of certain taxes) in the provincial forces, including the marine, and which had also affected the *strateia* of the upkeep of the *dromos* (the Middle Byzantine *cursus publicus*).¹³⁸ This might at first seem contradictory but is not.

Contrary to the suggestion (for that is all it is) that the comprehensiveness of lists of exemptions from such impositions is somehow connected with their simple commutation,¹³⁹ it is more reasonable to connect them with a geographically wider application of the appropriation of materials and labour following the demise of naval construction and provisions as elements of the *strateiai* of *particular* provinces in the mid eleventh century,¹⁴⁰ and the demise of the *dromos as cursus* in the second half of that century.¹⁴¹ The question of the *form* of appropriation remains

135. *De Cerimoniis*, I 673 and 677.

136. *Three Byzantine Military Treatises*, 10 l. 14 and 18 l. 98.

137. Stavridou-Zaphraka, *art.cit.* n.123,30 and 50-2.

138. For the fiscalisation of all these services in the eleventh century see now *Harvey* 110-13. For the *cursus publicus* see Jones, *Later Roman Empire* 830-4; for the succession *cursus-dromos* see now *Hendy* 294-6. For enrolment in the service of the *dromos* (as for the *cursus*) as involving a separate fiscal group see now Stavridou-Zaphraka, *art.cit.* n.123,44 and nn.135 and 138-9. For the provincial maritime *strateia* see Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer* 109.

139. *Harvey* 113.

140. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer* 134-5.

141. Its absence from Byzantine archives after 1060 has been noted: A.Harvey, 'Peasant categories in the tenth and eleventh centuries', *BMGS* 14 (1990) 255. The Anatolian *dromos* could not have survived the upheavals of the 1070s (for its network see *Hendy* 609 onwards). Laurent can argue on the basis of the sigillographic record

open. Would Constantine IX have requisitioned the arboreal resources of Athos or compulsorily purchased them? The growth of trade, whose interference with supplies Constantine IX sought to lessen, might have induced emperors to pay something for the products. What form however might Alexios I have preferred when in 1099 he 'commanded from all the provinces under the authority of the Romans that ships be built'?¹⁴² A century later the variety of the means by which the state continued to acquire the arboreal materials, products, and equipment which it required is indicated by the archbishop of Athens Michael Choniates' famous address to the emperor Alexios III, which distinguishes between the imposition of ship-construction *and* the fiscal penalties for not fulfilling this *and* the fiscal charges for maintaining crews, marines, etc. Different officials are concerned with the different operations, and there is almost certainly a revived form of *strateia* involved (by whatever name), at least in the province of Hellas-Peloponnesos.¹⁴³ Fiscal commutation could presumably offer no guarantee of provision in an era of growing competition for resources and labour, an era of economic growth as it is now recognised to have been.

A combination of extractive instruments is suggested by further practical considerations. The most effective way to take advantage of marketable artisanal skills (e.g., of carpenters, ship-

that the *dromos* as *cursus* did not survive the eleventh century: V. Laurent, *Le corpus des sceaux de l'empire byzantin* II (Paris 1981) 195. Other administrative functions still came under this heading though. See Stavridou-Zaphraka, *art.cit.* n.123,44 and n.135 for the wide application in the middle and late eleventh century, whatever the form, of the ἐνοχὴ τοῦ δρόμου or simply δρόμος.

142. Anna Comnène. *Alexiade*, ed. B. Leib, III (Paris 1945) 42; Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer* 192-3.

143. Καὶ μαρτυρεῖ τὸ προσέχως παρελθὼν ἔτος ὅτε κτίσεως κατέργων ὀρισθείσης ἡμεῖς πρῶτοι καὶ μόνοι τῶν ἄλλων, καίπερ μὴ κτισθέντων, ἐξημιώθημεν, ὅτε τοῦ Πανσίου Στεριόνου (the admiral) καταπεπλευκὸς μόνι ἡμεῖς νομίσματα (*vacat*) ὑπὲρ πλωίων κατεβαλόμεθα: *Μιχαὴλ Ἀκομινάτου τοῦ Χωνιάτου τα σωζόμενα*, ed. S. Lampros, I (Athens 1879) 308. See *ibid.* II (Athens 1880) 106 for the different ἐπιθρεαστάς, κτίστας κατέργων, πλωϊμολόγους. For the Comnenian re-assignment to Hellas-Peloponnesos of the tasks of the building and provision of fleets, see Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer* 275-9 and 265 for Euboea in particular.

wrights, caulkers) was to impose duties in exchange for tax-concessions. The dislocation, physical and economic, of activities such as the felling and transportation of timber, the κοπή και καταβιβασμός of the archives (which in places involved the floating of timber down rivers, an activity recorded in the twelfth century by archbishop Eustathios of Thessalonica),¹⁴⁴ might on the other hand have required the hiring of labour. The less serious the disruption, the more likely the application of unpaid *angareia*. If unskilled labour was needed and available on imperial (as opposed to private) estates, the historically attested unpaid and uncommuted *angareia* is all the more likely. The variety of means whereby the state continued to meet its material needs fits after all into a larger pattern. For instance military service could be performed by some in exchange for the concession for life of either revenues *or* lands while taxation payed the wages of others.¹⁴⁵

It should therefore come as no surprise if the replacement of some tax-obligations for registered groups by the provision of materials and products were continued after the twelfth century. Such services constituted one of several possible ways for the state to connect the fulfilment of its needs with the resources at its disposal. The Late Byzantine state made no general attempt to prevent the acquisition by westerners of timber (v.s.). But documents of the late fourteenth century from Chios suggest that the Genoese inherited from the Palaiologoi in the mid fourteenth century¹⁴⁶ a pre-emptive system for the acquisition of boards and pitch offset against some taxes, in other words the basic materials for shipbuilding. And it will be remembered that the

144. *Eustathii archiepiscopi thessalonicensis commentarii ad Homer. Iliadem*, ed. M. van der Valk, III (Leiden 1979) 241 ll. 3-8. See Meiggs 336 for Antiquity. Floating is practicable, among other places, on some rivers of S Anatolia: see Lombard, *art.cit.* n.53,108.

145. For the twelfth and thirteenth centuries see for convenience still Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer* 218-222. For the mid-thirteenth century onwards see now M.Bartusis, *The Late Byzantine Soldier: a social and administrative Study* (Ph.D., Rutgers University 1984) 465-87.

146. As late as 1349 Chios was still under partial Byzantine control, a situation which could not have outlasted the Byzantine-Genoese confrontation of 1351. See Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium* 234, and 243 onwards.

Palaiologoi had retained the right to impose shipbuilding.

A report of the podestà of Chios from 1395 states that the *angaria* of 2 *perperi* per household or hearth is payed by the Greeks *exceptis masticariis et marinariis galee ac laborantibus tabulas et picem*. Of these groups the board- and pitch-makers payed instead a *commerchium* and were excused the night-watch-manship, 'and it was always so'.¹⁴⁷ The *masticarii* were concerned with an imperial commercial monopoly which the Genoese inherited (see V), while the privileged mariners were perhaps the crews of fighting ships. The other two groups, also called respectively *tabularii* or *samdarii* (perhaps from σάνδιον, 'board', whence *σανιδάριος),¹⁴⁸ and *pexarii/piciarii*,¹⁴⁹ were at this time registered on special rolls.¹⁵⁰ A document from 1394 concerns the quantities of pitch to be supplied each year by those enrolled to the *commertiarius/emptores commertii picis*, the number of months (for some workers the whole year) during which they must produce for the authorities, and a ban on the sale to unauthorised *collectores*.¹⁵¹ Though no Byzantine document of this kind, at least of the Middle and Late period, has survived the crucial terms used in the Genoese documents (*angaria*, *commerchium*, *commertiarius*) are of Byzantine origin, the arrangements are described as of long standing (*et semper fuit*), and they fit well with the Byzantine tendency to use a variety of instruments to meet the needs of the state, as here a combination of commutation (of the *angaria*), uncommuted labour, and enforced sale. They indicate the kinds of arrangements which the Byzantine administration had to make to meet its material needs.

147. P. Argenti, *The occupation of Chios by the Genoese and their administration of the island 1346-1566 II. Codex and documents* (Cambridge 1958) 145-7 (from a dossier containing a report by Nicolò Fatinati, Podestà, to the Doge, concerning tax-reforms and other matters).

148. *Documenti della Maona di Chio (secc. XIV-XVI)*, ed. A. Rovere (Genoa 1979), no. 13 (1394).

149. Argenti, *op.cit.*, 147; Rovere, *op.cit.*, no. 14 (1394).

150. Argenti, *op.cit.*, 148; Rovere, *op.cit.*, nos. 13 and 14. There is a discrepancy between the combined total of 62 workers given by Fatinati and the separate totals in Rovere's documents (which report more than 31 *tabularii* plus more than 46 *piciarii*).

151. Rovere, *op.cit.*, no. 14.

V

In the Late Byzantine period the traditional strategic perspective was abandoned, logistic needs dwindled, and imperial ownership of woodland and scrubland shrank with the granting of such land to individuals and to the church. But a strictly fiscal interest in its exploitation was never lost.

The Early and Middle Byzantine state was, as already noted, a major owner of land in its own right. There is evidence in the Theodosian Code for the payment of rent to the state for the exploitation of timber and firewood and for woodland-pasture on its domains.¹⁵² Documentation of the exploitation of the Middle Byzantine state's own estates is exiguous. As already suggested much woodland in the 'maritime provinces' may in the Middle period have belonged to the state, as presumably did woodland and scrubland in regions reclaimed from Bulgar and South Slavic control, and in the Taurus and Antitaurus. But there can be no doubt that on these lands the Middle and Late Byzantine state continued the earlier practice of charging, and it probably charged for all the categories of exploitation that have already been identified.¹⁵³ One of our best sources is the *praktikon*, or fiscal record, of an imperial estate in western Anatolia, of the year 1073. This mentions the ἐννόμιον of a named *oros*, 'mountain', the βαλανιστήριον of the same 'mountain', and the *ennomion* of a named δάσος.¹⁵⁴ The same document refers to the estate's *orophylakes* (v.s.) The *valanisterion* 'of the *oros*' is, in context, the seasonal charge for the grazing of the βάλανοι (acorns and other wild nuts) basically by pigs, like the western medieval *glan-*

152. *CTh.*v, 14.31; vii, 7.2.

153. This does not mean that the state charged in all circumstances. Two documents of the year 941 reveal the administration selling deserted lands in the peninsula of Kassandreia (S Khalkidike) which had reverted to the state, some of which were uncultivated, on which free collective rights to 'water, or timber, or firewood, or grazing' for the whole peninsula's population are not to be denied by the new owners: *Athos V. Lavra* I. no.2 (941) ll. 28-30 and no.3 (941) ll. 11-13.

154. *Patmos* II, no.50 (1073) ll. 123.124.126.

daticum or *pannagium*. *Oros* and *orophylax* really mean 'woodland' and 'forest-warden'. The *ennomion* meanwhile is the general non-seasonal charge for the grazing of sheep and goats.¹⁵⁵ These charges for pigs and caprovines were applied everywhere. References to the *ennomion* are very frequent. It was applied in all landscapes, wooded and open, and was effectively a tax.¹⁵⁶ The charge on pig-grazing would have been applied widely too. Besides this Anatolian reference, it occurs in Macedonia both in 995 as βαλάνιστρον¹⁵⁷ and in the Palaeologue period in a Serbian document of ca. 1300 as *vlanastro*.¹⁵⁸

A document of 1300 from central Macedonia reveals other charges, ὀροκόπιον, presumably meaning a charge for cutting wood,¹⁵⁹ and στροβιλαῖα, which must refer to the exploitation of fir- and pine-trees, one of which was called στρόβιλος; probably therefore a charge for tapping resin and making pitch and tar.¹⁶⁰ Logically a similar charge will have been applied wherever people extracted gums and resins from trees and shrubs growing on imperially owned lands, particularly since these products were valued enough to be commercialised over long distances (for which see III and VI).

Certainly over two of these arboreal products or extracts, at least on imperial properties, the state maintained control, namely kermes and mastic, and possibly over oaken tanning and dyeing agents too. An imperial document of 1301 reveals an imperial

155. The *valanisterion* does not refer to the *dasos*, only the *ennomion* does this. The *dasos* (in Modern Greek 'forest') may then refer to scrubland. That *dasos* and related words had kept an ancient connotation of scrubland is indicated by such descriptions as δρὺς χαμαδὸς δασὺς ('stunted oak thicket'): *Le monastère de Notre Dame de Pitié en Macédoine*, ed. L. Petit, *IRAIK* 6 (1900), no. 8 (1152) 42.

156. Harvey 104, n. 95 identified the *ennomion* as 'exactied specifically for the use of common or state land as pasture'.

157. *Athos XIV. Iviron* I, no. 9 (995) l. 51: τὸ βαλάνιστρον καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐννόμια.

158. See Kondov, 'Das Dorf Gradec . . .' (1977), as cited n. 7, 85.

159. *Athos XV. Xénophon*, no. 4 (1300) l. 12; and for the meaning of *orokopion*, *idem* 91.

160. *Xénophon*, no. 4 (1300) ll. 12-13. See the relevant entries in part VI below.

monopoly on the sale of the kermes-parasite (the Byzantine *prinokokkion*), a source of scarlet dyes, which settles mainly on the holly oak (*quercus coccifera*/πρίνος), the ubiquitous arborescent bush of Mediterranean scrubland (see VI).¹⁶¹ The same document grants complete control of an oakwood (δρυμῶν) to a monastery in the S. Peloponnese, with its 'crop', τῆς συνεισφορᾶς ἀπάσης τοῦ βαλανιδίου. The wood and its crop had previously belonged to the state.¹⁶² It is impossible with such a reference to distinguish among the oak-tree's products, and the act presumably did not seek to do so. It should be a question here of both acorns and their cups, and galls, the acorn being pig-fodder (mast) and the cup and galls being tanning and dyeing agents (see VI). Venice maintained and probably inherited from Byzantium a commercial monopoly on these tanning and dyeing agents.¹⁶³ Officials of Andronikos II confiscated a Venetian shipload of these products, and timber, in 1319.¹⁶⁴

Mastic, the highly prized extract of one type of terebinth, was in the early fourteenth century still an imperial productive and commercial monopoly, from which the emperor Andronikos II sought to exclude western middlemen such as the Venetians.¹⁶⁵ There is evidence of its production in Crete and Cyprus, but Andronikos' concern will have been with the mastic of Chios,

161. *JGR* I, Coll.V, nov.23 (1301) 562-7: πρὸς τούτοις δὲ ἔξει ἐπ' ἀδείας τὸ μέρος τῆς αὐτῆς . . . ἐκκλησίας ἐξωνεῖσθαι καὶ τὸ πρινοκόκκιον, ὅπερ οἱ τῆς ῥηθείσης μονῆς τοῦ Ζαραφῶνος καὶ οἱ τοῦ δηλωθέντος χωρίου τοῦ Γαγκανέα πάροικοι ἐπισυνάγουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ διαφέροντος τῇ αὐτῇ ἀγιωτάτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ· ὅσον μὲντοι πρινοκόκκιον ἐπισυνάγουσιν οἱ τοοῦτοι πάροικοι τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπὸ δημοσιακοῦ τόπου ὀφείλει ἐξωνεῖσθαι τοῦτο ὁ δημόσιος.

162. *Idem* 526.

163. For the Venetian public monopoly in its formerly Byzantine possessions see Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitienne* 325.

164. See Part VI: GALLS.

165. The fourth truce (*treuga*) between Venice and Byzantium, of March 7, 1303, contains the following: 'Item quod abstinere se debeant omnes illi qui de parte ipsius illustris Ducis et communis Veneciarum sunt negociari ut mercationes sal et masticem in tota terra et pertinencijs Imperij nostri': *Diplomatarium veneto-levantinum sive acta et diplomata res venetas, graecas, atque levantis illustrantia a. 1300-1350*, ed. G.Thomas (Venice 1880) 17. For the context see J.Chrysostomides, *art.cit.* n.116,273 onwards.

the most highly prized since Antiquity (see VI), since this island was still under Byzantine control. We do not know how the Byzantine regime administered production, but Genoese arrangements, under which the producers were exempt from taxes and *corvées* in exchange for the obligatory sale to the authorities of all production, probably echo Byzantine arrangements.¹⁶⁶

Finally, hunting, baiting, and snaring, though not yet obvious in the archival record as revenue-earners, were, at a date preceding the earliest such documents for Anatolia or Greece, taxed, seemingly in kind, on the basis of Theodore the Studite's account of the Empress Irene's abolition of taxes (or charges) on these and other activities in 801 AD.¹⁶⁷ Strong similarities between her list of abolitions and her successor Nikephoros I's list of fiscal 'vexations'¹⁶⁸ make it likely that such charges were reinstated. Here was something for the *orophylakes* (wardens of imperially controlled woodland and scrubland) to control. There is at that date moreover no sense of a group of activities, and the land upon which they were practised, being reserved for a courtly and princely class. These activities were clearly, in the mind of Theodore the Studite, above all a set of means whereby ordinary people subsisted.¹⁶⁹ Only much later, at the end of the twelfth century, can one glimpse a different (western?) attitude, one which the historian Niketas Khoniates mocks when he says that imperial woodlands from which shipbuilding timber could have been taken were instead reserved for imperial hunting parties, and that the

166. For administrative continuity on Chios see P. Argenti, *Chios vincta* (Cambridge 1941) clii and cclxxii; Balar, *La Romanie génoise* 744-5; *idem*, 'The Genoese in the Aegean (1204-1566)', *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, edd. B. Arbel-B. Hamilton-D. Jacoby (London 1989) 171 onwards.

167. See W. Treadgold, *The Byzantine Revival 780-842* (Stanford 1988) 117-18 for the political context; N. Oikonomidès, 'De l'impôt de distribution à l'impôt de quotité à propos du premier cadastre byzantin (7^e-9^e siècle)', *ZRVI* 26 (1987) 13 for the fiscal context.

168. See Treadgold, *op. cit.*, 150-2, 164-5 and 169, for Nikephoros I's taxes.

169. For example: ὁ τοξώτης ἢ ὁ ἱξευτής οὐσπερ ἐθήρευσεν ὀλίγους τάχα ὄρνεις, ἐξ ὧν αὐτῶ ἢ ἀναγκαῖα τροφή, ἀλογοθέτητος διαμένων εὐζωήσειν: *Theodori Studitae epistulae*, ed. G. Fatouros (Berlin-New York 1992), no. 7. 59-61.

wardens (φύλακες έκτομίαι . . .) were wardens καθάπερ ἱερῶν ἄλσεων, εἰπεῖν δὲ καὶ θεοφυτεύτων παραδείσων.¹⁷⁰ The implicit mockery, coming as it does from another member of the élite, suggests that something like the western concept of Chase, let alone Forest Law, was not taking root. And indeed there is no obvious evidence, legal, archival, or anecdotal, that it ever did.¹⁷¹

We learn about many of the charges at the point when the resources were being transferred into the hands of individuals or the church. Unfortunately we learn nothing about the private administration of arboreal resources in Byzantine Anatolia, Byzantine Greece, or the other areas of concern. There is almost nothing corresponding to Byzantine manorial accounts. We merely learn occasionally of the buying and selling of woodland (almost invariably of oaktrees when stipulated),¹⁷² of disputes over the ownership of such woodland,¹⁷³ and, interestingly, that lessors considered woodland as a fixed asset not to be consumed by tenants, δεινδροτομία being grounds for terminating an agreement.¹⁷⁴

* * *

170. *Nicetae Choniatae Historia* 540.

171. See for convenience Wickham, *art.cit.* n.19, 481-5, for the development of Forest Law, where it is a question of 'land not so much defined by economic type . . . as by legal restriction' (485), distinguished above all by the arrogation of princely and then aristocratic hunting rights. Wickham points out (486) that the imperial *saltus* of the Late Roman/Early Byzantine period, with their mixture of woodland, uncultivated ground, and some cultivation, were not imperial hunting reservations.

172. Groups of oak-trees (always enumerated, the largest number being 36) occur quite frequently for instance among the purchases of the Lemviotissa Monastery in W Asia Minor: *MM* IV, no.39 (1274) 95; *MM* IV, no.41 (1281) 98-99; *MM* IV, no.52 (1283) 130-1; *MM* IV, no.46 (undated) 104. Oak-trees are often enumerated in imperial grants. See for instance *Patmos* II, no.50 (1073) ll. 303-4, where it is a question of 42 trees altogether.

173. *Patmos* II, no.70 (1271) for instance concerns a dispute between the monastery of St John of Patmos and the bishop of Kos over ownership of an oakwood and olivegrove on Kos.

174. In 1162 the monastery of Lavra was in dispute with *pronoiarior* to whom it had leased land on the north side of Lake Langadas in central Macedonia. By an agreement of ca. 1118, which had been broken by the *pronoiarior*, the installation of houses and threshing floors, *dendrotomia*, and other abuses, were grounds for

It seems likely that a great deal of uncultivated land, i.e., woodland and scrubland, was deemed to belong to the state at a certain distance from easily settled and cultivated areas. As emperors granted away these lands they granted to the beneficiaries the rights to the charges upon the different forms of exploitation, which thus became rents payable to the aristocracy and the church. Later emperors also implicitly granted the right to dispose of the major products (timber, firewood, pitch, charcoal), which earlier emperors had not, thus encouraging a commercialisation which they could no longer prevent. The same transferral of rights also affected 'crops' like kermes and *valanidia*. A true imperial monopoly such as that of mastic was exceptional. But imperial forests must have continued to exist, supporting groups like the *samdarii* and *pixarii* of fourteenth-century Chios.

It is not yet possible to detect a primacy of application, static or shifting, among the state's instruments of acquisition respecting the exploitation of arboreal resources. Wherever the primacy lay though it is fairly clear that the major arboreal resources were major targets of forms of *militia*, of public *corvée*, of requisition and of enforced sale, in the Byzantine world at all times. The need in that technological era for the resources and products concerned, the inefficiency of the market, and fiscal problems of the kinds experienced by medieval states, made such practices unavoidable. Commutation for some, as indicated by the Chiote evidence, was therefore only part of a strategy of pre-emption. Nevertheless as in the late period commercial relations in *Romania* expanded, and the domination of private estates on the land came about, the Byzantine state's strategic perspective became untenable, and, as its logistic needs dwindled, to some extent unwarranted. A reduced scale of pre-emption could have then co-

rescinding the agreement: *Athos V. Lavra* I, no.64 (1162) ll. 70-4. *Dendrotomia* is the subject of a series of Roman definitions and rulings reproduced in the ninth-to-tenth century *Basilica* and the tenth-century *Synopsis Maior*. See respectively *Basilicorum libri LX*. Series A, vol. VIII, edd. H. Scheltema-D. Holwerda-N. van der Wal (Groningen 1988), LX. 16. 1-14; *JGR* V, IV. 3. 1-7.

existed with a probably growing trade in the products of woodland and scrubland.

There are several ways in which at the interface of the environmental sciences and archaeology the study of the forces of production in the Byzantine world in general will advance. It is to be hoped that in some settings collaboration can shed more light on the history of the exploitation of arboreal resources, while archival studies (Venetian? Ottoman? Genoese?) do the same, where continuities of practice seem likely, for the control and value of certain kinds of exploitation. Meanwhile there can be little doubt about the economic importance of the arboreal sector of the Byzantine rural economy (except on the Anatolian plateau), its importance to the state as a source of revenues in cash and kind, its importance for commodity-production and trade, and thus its value for the rural population as a source of tradeable primary and secondary products.

* * *

VI

Some primary and secondary products of trees and shrubs of Greece, Cyprus, Anatolia, and Syria, known to have been extracted in the Middle Ages

Entries are under the name of the tree or shrub, or under the generic name of a product or extract, typically derived from more than one kind of plant. On the basis of ancient and medieval sources and of modern ethnography, nearly all trees and shrubs, both cultivated and wild, were used for fuel, fodder, and charcoal-making, scrubland and orchards being major sources around the E.Mediterranean. So there is no systematic mentioning of this fact under entries. Also excluded are certain spontaneously occurring trees valued above all for woodworking (ashe, beech, box, cypress, hornbeam, and others). It should be borne in mind too that other indigenous trees and shrubs, not documented here, must have been exploited to obtain their special products in the

Byzantine era, as they were in Antiquity or in the post-Byzantine era (senna, myrtle, etc.).¹⁷⁵ All unattributed statements are derived from the historical and philological data contained in *The Oxford English Dictionary* I-XX (Oxford U.P. 1989).

Bark/φλοιός

Bark, ringed and stripped in season, was a major source of dyeing materials. The bark of the oak, walnut, linden, and mulberry, among others, were valued in the medieval eastern Mediterranean world.¹⁷⁶ To ring another person's trees (ζωννύειν τὸ περιελεῖν τὸν φλοιόν) was equated with felling, the penalty for which was restitution of the value of the trees themselves.¹⁷⁷

Bay-tree/δάφνη

Sfikas(1), no.27 (*laurus nobilis*), a tree or shrub also known as the sweet bay. The leaves or berries, or perhaps the oil expressed from them, were, according to one source, imported from the Byzantine world into the Islamic world.¹⁷⁸ It must have been exported from Crete.¹⁷⁹ The aromatic oil and the decoction of the leaves had many perceived uses.¹⁸⁰ Pierre Belon noted in the mid-sixteenth century that from the bay-tree the monks of Mount Athos extracted an oil in which they had a considerable trade.¹⁸¹

175. See *Polunin* 193-203 for an impression of the range of traditional tradeable arboreal products coming from southern or Mediterranean Europe.

176. See Cvetkova, *Vie économique de villes et ports balkaniques* 90 (Table 6) for linden-bark. See below under GALLNUT and OAK-TREE for some further references. For the numerous other barks of Mediterranean trees and shrubs traditionally exploited for tanning and dyeing purposes see for convenience *Polunin*, *loc.cit.*

177. For example, *Basilica* VIII A, LX. 16. 5; *JGR* V, IV. 3. 4. and IV. 3. 7 (Synopsis Maior).

178. A.Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu du 11^e siècle* III. *Le milieu naturel* (Paris 1980) 425.

179. Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete from the 5th century to the Venetian conquest* 287.

180. See *Ducange*, *sub* δαύνη, and δαφνόκοκκα, and *Kriaras*, *sub* δαφνέλαιον and related entries, for the substances. See *Geoponica* 2.7.3 and 2.30.1, for some traditional uses; and *Polunin* 197 for more recent times.

181. *Belon*(2) 98.

Camel's thorn/ἀσπάλαθος

Sfikas(2), no.74 (*calycotome infesta* and *calycotome villosa*), shrubs still called in Greece *aspalathos*.¹⁸² The price of aspalathos was controlled by Diocletian (*Aezani* 34.70). Crawford and Reynolds argue that this was 'Syrian' camel's thorn,¹⁸³ but the shrub has a very wide distribution. A fragrant oil was extracted. The root of the aspalathos was one of many ingredients used in flavouring wines.¹⁸⁴ The Cretan *aspalanthos* recorded by *Ducange* is presumably the same plant.

Carob-tree/κερατέα, κεράτια, κερατία

Sfikas(2), no.71 (*ceratonia siliqua*), the tree, both wild and cultivated.¹⁸⁵ Ioannes Eugenikos refers in the mid-fifteenth century to carobs (the bean and bean-pod) as part of the diet of animals browsing in the woods on his estate at Petrina in Laconia.¹⁸⁶ The nutritional value of the carob-bean is high.¹⁸⁷ The bark and leaves were also traditionally exploited for tanning.¹⁸⁸

Castor-tree/καστόριον¹⁸⁹

Polunin 113 (*ricinus communis*).

Aezani 34.76-77 deals with 'Pontic castor oil' (*castorigi pontici*) and 'Dalmatian castor oil' (*castorii delmatici*), which would have been derived from the castor-tree. See Crawford and Reynold's commentary on *Aezani* for references to medical uses.¹⁹⁰

182. *Sfikas*(2) 209.

182. *Aezani* 207-8 (Commentary). Syrian references can be found in E.Honigmann, 'Syria', *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Alterumswissenschaft* 2.Reihe,4. Band (hereafter, *Honigmann*) col. 1560-1.

184. *Geoponica* 7.20.7.

185. See *Geoponica* 10.72 for the planting of the carob-tree.

186. Κώμης έκφρασις, Lampros, Παλαιοιολόγια και Πελοποννησιακά, I, 52, ll. 6-8.

187. *Polunin* 195.

188. *Idem*, loc.cit.

189. *Kriaras*, sub καστόριον (2).

190. *Aezani* 209 (Commentary).

Cedar/κέδρος

A conifer, *pinus cedrus* or *abies cedrus*. The E.Mediterranean variant, *cedrus libani*, while never associated with Greece, still occurs naturally in stands spread along the southern coast of Turkey,¹⁹¹ and in Cyprus,¹⁹² and formerly in Syria, within our area of concern.¹⁹³ The cedar was in great demand in Antiquity and in the Byzantine era for its timber and for its extracts. It was a prime source of pitch, resin, and resinous oils. They formed components of medicines, antiseptics, embalming fluids, and wood-preservers.¹⁹⁴ Most of these uses, and other uses that were doubtless traditional, are recorded in, or can be inferred from, Byzantine sources. The *Geoponica* records liquid cedar pitch as a component of skin-treatments;¹⁹⁵ it records *kedrea* as an insect-killer, insect-repellant, and as a component of skin-treatments,¹⁹⁶ and records the preservation of wine with 'the fruit of the cedar'.¹⁹⁷ Indeed a type of wine was known as *kedraia*.¹⁹⁸ *Diocletian* 36.35-36 regulates the price of *kedrion*. *Aezani* 33.16 regulates the price of *cedria*.¹⁹⁹ Cedar-wood is recorded as exported from the Gulf of Issos in the Early Middle Ages.²⁰⁰ Slightly later the Book of the Eparch refers to the sale of *kedraia* or *kedria* in Constantinople immediately after the sale of hard and liquid pitch.²⁰¹ *Kedrea* was a major requirement of a Byzantine naval and military expedition.²⁰² Many references

191. Meiggs 358,394,411,414.

192. *Idem* 136.

193. *Idem* 411 and 414, also n.10.

194. E.Semple, *The geography of the Mediterranean Region. Its Relation to Ancient History* (London 1932) 282. See also *Lauffer* 283 for references, and for a longer-term perspective *Meiggs* chap. 3.

195. *Geoponica* 16.18.1.

196. *Geoponica* 5.9.9,13.7.2,13.10.2,13.14.6,16.22.1,18.15.5,18.16.2.

197. *Geoponica* 12.9: κέδρου τὸν καρπὸν.

198. *Ducange, Omissa et addenda. Omissa alia quaedam*, s.v.

199. Translated by Crawford and Reynolds as 'cedar resin': *Aezani* 201 (Commentary).

200. H.Hellenkemper-F.Hild, *Neue Forschungen in Kilikien* (Vienna 1986) 104, n.31.

201. *Eparch* 31.1.

202. *De Cerimoniis*, I, 673.

to *kedrion*, *kedrea*, or *kedria*, are probably to the resin and oils, which had so many uses. There are good reasons for believing that they were extracted from the cedar and the juniper (q.v.), or rather juniper-group, and that both were known by the same names.²⁰³

‘Chaste’-tree/ἄγνος

Sfikas(2), no.182 (*vitex agnus castus*), a tree or shrub with aromatic properties, parts of which were ascribed medical properties. The leaves were a traditional fumigant. According to one source it was imported from the Byzantine world into the Islamic world.²⁰⁴ For the name see *Ducange*, Addenda in glossario, s.v.

Chestnut (sweet)/κάστανος, καστανέα²⁰⁵

Sfikas(2), no.146 (*castanea sativa*), a woodland tree. A document of the tenth century refers to a ‘dearth of acorns . . . or chestnuts’ in the context of pig-grazing in the Khalkidike. That the sweet chestnut was a valued tree is indicated by the *Geoponica*’s references to planting it.²⁰⁶

Christ’s thorn/παλιούρος

Sfikas(2), no.150 (*paliurus aculeatus*, p.*spina christi*), Modern Greek παλιούρι.²⁰⁷ There may have been a demotic variant παλιρέα.²⁰⁸ A common Mediterranean scrubland-bush,²⁰⁹ its seeds were crushed to make a linctus.²¹⁰

Euphorbia/εὐφόρβιον

One or more of the group of shrubs of this name was the source

203. Meiggs 415-416.

204. Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu’au milieu du 11^e siècle*, III 425.

205. *Kastanos* is the common Byzantine word for both the tree and the nut. See *Athos XVI. Iviron II*, no.49 (1100) l. 15, for *kastanea*.

206. *Geoponica* 3.3.5, 3.15.7, 10.3.7, 10.63.1-4.

207. *Sfikas*(2) 211.

208. *Ducange*, s.v.

209. *Polunin* 133-4.

210. Theophrastus, *Enquiry into Plants* 3.18.3; *Ducange*, s.v.

of a resinous gum²¹¹ which could be powdered, with traditional medical uses.²¹² *Diocletian* 36.103 regulated the price of *euphorbion* (presumably the extract).

Fir-tree/ἐλάτη, στρόβιλος

Sfikas(2), nos.9-12 (the *abies* and *picea* groups of conifers). Modern Greek names for both groups are derived from ancient Greek ἐλάτη. An enduring distinction was made between firs and pine-trees. But firs may also have sometimes been called, along with pines, στρόβιλοι.²¹³ One of them was the source of an extract used to flavour wine.²¹⁴ The *Geoponica* seems to refer to the fir-tree as *strobilos* in a list of evergreen trees, if one can assume that πίτυς there refers to the pine.²¹⁵ For the range of exploitations, Byzantine and in general pre-industrial, see RESIN, στροβιλαίαι and PITCH in this section; for timber, the discussion in II and III.

Galbane/χαλβάνιν

The resinous gum of one or more of the shrubs of the Giant Fennel group (*Ferula*),²¹⁶ used as a fumigator and in traditional medical preparations, also in textile-dyeing.²¹⁷ Galbane was produced in S.E. Anatolia²¹⁸ and in Syria.²¹⁹ See *Ducange*, s.v., for the Byzantine name.

Galls/κηκίδια, Βαλανίδια

The gall ('gallnut'), the much sought tannine-rich growth found on the leaves, stems, and bark of oak-trees; prolifically on some

211. *Euphorbia resinifera*, the 'euphorbium gum plant'? See *Van Wijk* 1, 527; or *e.pithyusa* (*Idem* 1, 526)?

212. See *Lauffer* 288 for further references.

213. *Liddell-Scott*.

214. *Sophocles*: ἐλάτινος.

215. *Geoponica* 11.1.

216. Probably *f.galbaniflua* (usually associated with Persia) and *f.tingitana* (Syria and N Africa): *Van Wijk* 1, 540 and 541.

217. See *West* 171 for the use of *galbanum* for dyeing textiles.

218. *T.I.B.* 5. *Kilikien und Isaurien* 111.

219. *West* 166 (Table II).

types (e.g., on *quercus macrolepis* and *quercus infectoria* or *lusitanica*), used as a dyeing and tanning agent, in ink-making,²²⁰ and in traditional medical preparations.²²¹ The Cairo *Genizeh* records their exportation from N.Syria to Egypt.²²² In the Late Byzantine period they were being exported from Macedonia,²²³ Euboea,²²⁴ and Corfu,²²⁵ and their exploitation was controlled on imperial properties in the Peloponnese.²²⁶ They were one of the Ottoman exports of the Peloponnese,²²⁷ Macedonia,²²⁸ and Thrace,²²⁹ in other words from any region that had extensive oak-woods. The 'gall-oak' (*q. infectoria*) is still called in rural Greece *κικιδοβελανιδιά*.²³⁰ The terebinth-family, which flourished in N.Syria as elsewhere, is also a traditional source of galls.²³¹

Holly oak and holmoak/πρίνος, πρινάριον

The holly oak (*quercus coccifera*) is *Sfikas*(2), no.145. The holmoak (*quercus ilex*) is *Sfikas*(2), no.144. *Prinos* and *prinarion* were probably the Byzantine names for both, and presumably also for the large holly oak of Anatolia and Syria (*q. calliprinus*). These are the Mediterranean evergreen oaks.²³² Depending upon

220. *Laographika* 1, 454, where also Byzantine references to ink being made from the barks of the mulberry-tree and walnut-tree.

221. *Kriaras*, sub κικιδίου.

222. *Goitein* 213. The galls of Syria are also mentioned by Vegetius (*West*, 165, Table II).

223. Mertzios, *Μνημεία μακεδονικής ιστορίας* 20 (from the *Commemoriali*: a communication from the Doge to Venetian ambassadors negotiating with Andronikos II, 27-9-1319). Mertzios presumably excerpted R.Predelli-P.Bosmin, *I libri commemoriali della repubblica di Venezia regesti (1293-1787)*, I-VIII (Venice 1876-1914).

224. Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitienne* 338.

225. *Idem* 349.

226. *JGR* I, Coll. V, nov. 23 (1301) 526.

227. V.Kremmydas, *Το εμπόριο της Πελοποννήσου στο 18ο αιώνα (1715-1792)* (Athens 1972) 195.

228. N.Sovoronos, *Le commerce de Salonique au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris 1956) 280.

229. A.Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe* III (Paris 1840) 157.

230. *Sfikas*(2), no.141.

231. *Polunin* 202; *Meiggs* 469.

232. *Liddell-Scott, Ducange*, ss.vv. *Rackham*(2) 327, n.82 points out that the Ancient Greek for *q. ilex* was ἄπια. I can find no trace of this in Byzantine archives or in the Byzantine lexica (*Ducange*, *Kriaras*, *Sophocles*). This is not conclusive of course,

the intensity of grazing they will progress from bush to tree, the holmoak most easily.²³³ These bushes or trees were the source of kermes (see *πρινοκόκκιον*). The bark of *q.ilex* was traditionally used for tanning and its wood was particularly valued for charcoal-making.²³⁴ The roots of the ubiquitous holly oak were traditionally used for tanning (and were not the only tree-roots so used, the walnut's being another).²³⁵ The acorns of both oaks also provided seasonal fodder, though not on the scale of some deciduous oaks (see MAST and OAKTREE).

Jujube/ζίζυφος

Polunin, 134 (*ziziphus jujuba* and *z.lotus*). Both a spontaneously occurring and planted tree of southern and eastern Mediterranean countries, valued for its fruit.²³⁶ Perhaps *eleagnus angustifolius* (*Sfikas*(2), no.85), the Modern Greek τζίτζιφιιά, whose fruit is edible and well regarded, should also be associated with the ancient and medieval *zizyphos*. *Diocletian* 6.56 regulates the price.²³⁷ The products of the jujube were exported from N.Syria to Egypt in the Middle Ages.²³⁸

Juniper/ἄρκευθος, κέδρος

Sfikas(2), nos.14-20: the *juniperus*-group of coniferous trees and shrubs. At least five types of juniper are known in Modern Greek as *kedros*, each with a different prefix.²³⁹ The general term in Modern Greek is *kedros*,²⁴⁰ as probably the Ancient Greek.²⁴¹

but when the *Geoponica* refers in a section on trees (*op.cit.*, 11.14) to planting the *prinos* to attract the *coccum ilicis* (*prinokokkion*), which favours all these evergreen oaks, would the text not have distinguished the attractive holmoak from its two prickly cousins if it still had a different name?

233. *Rackham*(2) 299; *Rackham*(1) 189.

234. *Sfikas*(2), no.144.

235. Observed by Sibthorp, a botanist travelling in Greece in the late eighteenth century: *Memoirs relating to European and Asiatic Turkey*, ed. R. Walpole (London 1817) 237.

236. See *Geoponica* 10.43.

237. See *Lauffer* 231 for further references.

238. *Goitein* 213. Pliny mentions the fruit-bearing *zizyphus* of Syria (*Honigmann* col.1560).

239. *Sfikas*(2) 209.

240. *Μέγα αγγλο-ελληνικόν λεξικόν* I-IV (Athens, undated), s.v.

241. See *Meiggs*, Appendix 3.1; also *Rackham*(2) 331 and 332.

The ancient *arkeuthos*, which perhaps was applied to one type, has survived though.²⁴² Besides being used for joinery the wood was sought for charcoal-making and was burnt for its aroma, not merely as fuel. The berry was used widely and its oil was used in medical preparations.²⁴³ The seeds were also burnt for their aroma. The question arises whether some substances called in Byzantine sources *kedraia*, *kedrea*, and *kedria*, could have been derived from different kinds of juniper. The juniper is ubiquitous,²⁴⁴ and some varieties are known for their resin.²⁴⁵ See CEDAR and RESIN.

Mast/βαλανίδιον,²⁴⁶ *βαλάνιον*,²⁴⁷ *βάλανος*²⁴⁸

These terms refer to the crop of acorns, *valanoi*,²⁴⁹ shed by all kinds of oak-trees, in Byzantine Greek βαλανίδες,²⁵⁰ δένδρα βελανιδέα,²⁵¹ βάλανοι,²⁵² δρῦς,²⁵³ δρύινα δένδρα,²⁵⁴ and other names (for which see HOLLY OAK, HOLMOAK, OAKTREE). *Valanidion* probably also refers to GALLS (q.v.) And the terms for mast were probably used loosely to refer to beechnuts and chestnuts (the trees are frequently found together at higher altitudes). The Modern Greek βαλανίδι retains this sense.²⁵⁵

242. *Geoponica* 11.1.1 distinguishes between *kedros* and *arkeuthos*. The latter name apparently survives in Crete (*Kriaras*, s.v.).

243. It is still traditionally recommended: *Sfikas*(1), no.26. *J.oxycdrus* is the normal source (Meiggs 410).

244. *Polunin* 26.

245. *J.oxycdrus*, for instance, which flourishes around the E Mediterranean (*Van Wijk* 1,708).

246. *JGR* I, Coll. V, nov. 23 (1301) 526.

247. *Kriaras*, s.v.

248. *JGR* V, II.2.1 (Synopsis Maior).

249. *Athos XIV. Iviron* I, no.9 (995) l. 49. See also *Kriaras*, s.v.

250. *Les archives de Saint-Jean-Prodrome*, no.35 (1339-1342) l. 50.

251. *Idem*, no.39 (1345) ll. 74-5.

252. *Laographika* I, 291, no.4.

253. The ancient word, favoured in official documents. See *Kriaras*, s.v., for literary references.

254. *Patmos* II, no.69 (1263) l. 27.

255. *Kriaras*, sub δρυοβάλανος: βαλανίδι.

Mastic/μαστίχη

The resinous gum exuded from the bark of the MASTICH-TREE (LENTISK), much sought after throughout the Ancient, Byzantine, and Islamic worlds.²⁵⁶ Medieval references to the production and commercialisation of mastic mostly concern Chios, where there was a Byzantine imperial monopoly,²⁵⁷ but there is evidence also for Cyprus and Crete.²⁵⁸

Mastich-tree, Lentisk/σχίνος

Sfikas(2), no.104, a sub-type of *pistacia lentiscus* (the terebinth). The mastich-tree was the source of the resinous gum MASTIC (q.v.); of the resinous extract τερεβινθίνη, natural turpentine, also extracted from other varieties of TEREBINTH (q.v.); and the source of a type of PITCH (q.v.);²⁵⁹ while an oil was extracted from the berry,²⁶⁰ and the wood was traded too, perhaps for burning as an aromatic substance. *Diocletian* 36.63 regulates the price of mastic of Chios (μαστύχης Χείας), as well as of *terebinthinae Chiaie* (op.cit.,36.127). *Aezani* 34.17-18 regulates the price of *mastichae albae Chiaie* and *mastichae nigrae*. It also regulates the price of *olei mastichini* (op.cit.,34.71) and of *xylomastiches* (op.cit.,34.79). The Nea Mone had mastich-trees (*skhinoi*) at its metokhion of Khalazousia on Chios,²⁶¹ which are distinguished from ὁπωροφόρα δένδρα.

Oak-tree/βάλανος, βαλανίς, δρῦς, ἡμερίς²⁶²

Sfikas(2), nos.133-145. βελανιδιά, with prefixes to distinguish the different varieties, is the commonest Modern Greek name for

256. See *Lauffer* 285 and 286 for references to Antiquity; Balard, *La Romanie génoise* 742 for Arab geographers' references to the mastic of Byzantine Chios.

257. For Chios see now Balard, *op.cit.*, 742-6.

258. See Malamut, *Les îles de l'empire byzantin* II, 388-9.

259. *Geoponica* 6.7.1.

260. See below: TEPEBINΘINH.

261. *MM* V, no.7 (1259) 12.

262. Eustathios of Thessalonika refers to one type of oak-tree noted for its crop as ἡμερίς, whence several modern Greek names (*Laographika* II, 290-1). See in this section under MAST for other names. Βελανιδιά, with prefixes to distinguish the different varieties, is the commonest Modern Greek name for the deciduous oak-tree, though δρῦς and βάλανι are known: *Sfikas*(2) 207 and *Rackham*(2), Appendix I, 349).

the deciduous oak-tree (*Ibidem*, 207). Oak-trees, of which numerous varieties flourish in E.Mediterranean landscapes, besides being a source of timber, firewood and charcoal, were the source of several other valued products: the acorn (see MAST), kermes (see *πρινοκόκκιον*), and GALLS (q.v.).²⁶³ The *Geoponica* lists some agricultural uses of products and by-products (ash and chopped acorns for fertiliser; use was made of the leaves, mainly for fodder; and other exploitations were recommended).²⁶⁴

Olive (wild)/φυλία

This is Eustathios of Thessalonica's *phylia*, the Modern Greek φύλικας, αγριλιός, and derivatives.²⁶⁵ Besides the normal uses (for fodder, firewood, and charcoal), the fruit of the wild olive was until recently a source of soap-oil.²⁶⁶

Pine-tree/πεύκη, πίτυς, στρόβιλος

Sfikas(2), nos.1-8 (the *pinus*-group of conifers). The distinction has been inherited in Modern Greek from Antiquity between the pines, most of whose names are derived from Ancient Greek *πέυκη*,²⁶⁷ and the firs, whose names are derived from Ancient Greek *ελάτη* (for which see FIR-TREE).²⁶⁸ One pine however, *pinus heldreichii* found throughout N.Greece, is in Modern Greek *ρόβολο*,²⁶⁹ clearly derived from Ancient Greek *στρόβιλος*,

263. See for instance *Sfikas*(2), no.141; M.Lombard, *Études d'économie médiévale* III. *Les textiles dans le monde musulman du VIII^e au XII^e siècle* (Paris 1978), hereafter *Lombard*, 144, for the value of the acorn and its cup. The acorn-cup was being exported to the west from central Greece and the Peloponnese in the eighteenth century (Kremmydas, *Το εμπόριο της Πελοποννήσου* 195); from the islands of Lesbos and Agios Eustratios (Mertzios, *Μνημεία μακεδονικής ιστορίας* 262,304,307); and doubtless from other convenient locations too.

264. *Geoponica* 5.24.1, 10.76.5. Oak-leaves were traded by the load in the late medieval Balkan urban market: Cvetkova, *Vie économique de villes et ports balkaniques* 89 (Table 5).

265. *Laographika* II, 293. There are of course other local names of Slavonic and Albanian origin.

266. Forbes, 'Farming and foraging in prehistoric Greece . . .', *art.cit.* n.13, 131.

267. *Liddell-Scott*, *Sfikas*(2) 211.

268. *Liddell-Scott*, *Sfikas*(2) 212-13.

269. *Sfikas*(2), no.6 and 211.

which was apparently applied to both pines and firs.²⁷⁰ However there is no reason to believe that this name was applied in a technical way to only one type of pine in the past (see the entry for στροβιλαίαι). The Ancient Greek πίτυς, applied particularly to *pinus pinea*, may have yielded ground to it.²⁷¹ For the range of exploitations, Byzantine and generally pre-industrial, see the entries for στροβιλαίαι, PITCH, and RESIN. Some types of pine were an important source of timber.

Pitch/πίσσα

Apart from the naturally occurring asphalt or bitumen, pitch is the tarry residue left after heating the resins of cedars, firs, junipers, pines, and terebinths,²⁷² or after boiling,²⁷³ or burning, the wood of these resiniferous trees.²⁷⁴ It could be mixed with water and resin, and had an enormous range of applications.²⁷⁵ *Diocletian* 36.26-27 (*Aezani* 33.7-8) regulates the price of *colofoniae*, sometimes known as 'Greek pitch', but defined as a resin at *Aezani* 33.10. The Book of the Eparch stipulates who can sell dry and liquid pitch.²⁷⁶ For the state's continual interest in the supply of pitch see III and IV.

πρινοκόκκιον

This is the *cocum ilicis*, the small insect which lives on the stems of the HOLLY OAK and HOLMOAK, both trees being probably known to the medieval Greeks as *prinos* or *prinarion*. The insect is the source of red dyes, traditionally much sought after, whence *πρινοκοκκάτος* (of red-dyed silks etc.).²⁷⁷ It merits an entry in the *Geoponica*.²⁷⁸ The control of the collection and sale of

270. *Liddell-Scott*.

271. *Liddell-Scott*.

272. *Meiggs*, Appendix 7.

273. See for instance F.Maunsell, 'The Rhodope Balkans', *The Geographical Journal* 28 (1906/2) 17. Maunsell travelled in about 1901.

274. *Meigs*, *loc.cit.*

275. *Idem*.

276. *Eparch* 13.1.

277. *Koukoulès* II/B 37.

278. *Geoponica* 11.14.

prinokokkia is partly the subject of a Late Byzantine imperial charter.²⁷⁹ The *coccum ilicis* (*c.rubens*) is the *qirmiz* (whence *kermes*, crimson, etc.) of the Arabic world, the *vermilion*, *coccum*, or sometimes *granum* of medieval Latin, and the Ancient Greek κόκκος.²⁸⁰ This dye is recorded as a late medieval export from Corinth and Patras,²⁸¹ and late medieval product of Cyprus.²⁸² The Venetians were shipping the dye in Byzantine Greek waters in the late thirteenth century, having presumably collected it in Greece or Anatolia including the Pontus.²⁸³ This particular Greek 'harvest' was well known to the sixteenth-century traveller Pierre Belon,²⁸⁴ and was still exported from central Greece,²⁸⁵ Macedonia, including Serres,²⁸⁶ the Peloponnese,²⁸⁷ Dyrrakhion,²⁸⁸ and doubtless many other areas, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Resin/ρητίνη

An oily exudation of trees of the FIR, PINE and JUNIPER groups, which has also traditionally been tapped; extracted too from the CEDAR and the TEREBINTH. *Diocletian* 36.28-29 regulates the price of resin (ρητίνη); at 36.129 *pityenis*, presumably the resin of the *pitys* (*pinus pinea*); at 36.130 *colofoniae*, the

279. *JGR* I Coll. V, nov. 23 (1301) 526-7.

280. See *Ducange sub* πρινοκόκκη, πρινοκόκκα, πρινοκούκιν et al.; J.Niermeyer, *Mediae latinitatis lexicon minus* (Leiden 1976), ss.vv.; Lombard 118-19 and 122-3; see P.Walter, 'Textiles', *English medieval industries*, edd. J.Blair-N.Ramsay (London 1991) 334, for W Europe's consumption of such dyes.

281. Zakythinos, *Le despotat grec de Morée* II, 247.

282. J.Richard, 'Une économie coloniale? Chypre et ses ressources agricoles au Moyen-Age', *BF* 5 (1977) 340.

283. See G.Morgan, 'The Venetian Claims Commission of 1278', *BZ* 69 (1976) 436 for the Aegean. For the Pontus see Bryer-Winfield, *Byzantine monuments and topography of the Pontos*, I, 127.

284. Belon(1) 126.

285. Rackham(2) 332-3. The abundant yield was noted in Boeotia in 1470 by Angiolello: Mertzios, *Μνημεία μακεδονικής ιστορίας* 199.

286. Svoronos, *Le commerce de Salonique au XVIII^e siècle* 280. For Serres see Mertzios, *op.cit.*, 276.

287. P.Topping, 'The post-classical documents', *The Minnesota Messenia Expedition* II (Minnesota 1972) 76; Kremmydas, Το εμπόριο της Πελοποννήσου 194.

288. Mertzios, *op.cit.*, 268.

resinae Colofoniae sive Frixae of *Aezani* 33.10, presumably the resin and/or pitch of conifers from parts of W.Anatolia.²⁸⁹ *Aezani* 33.10 also regulates *resinae terebinthinae*, which must be distinct from the mastic-resin of one type of *pistacia lentiscus* also regulated by the Price Edict (see MASTIC). *Aezani* 33.16 also regulates *cedriae Italicum*, cedar-resin by the Italian pound (the editors' interpretation). The incomplete entries at *Diocletian* 36.35-36, beginning κεδρίου, may refer to separated cedar-oil or pitch,²⁹⁰ or to juniper extracts.²⁹¹ Pine-resin is recorded as an export of the Peloponnese in the late Middle Ages.²⁹²

στροβιλαίαι

Athos XV. Xénophon, no.4 (1300 AD), 12-13. The Xenophontos Monastery was granted ownership and tax-free exploitation of a large tract of woodland by the state on the peninsula of Longos (which means 'woodland'; renamed Sithonia), S.Khalkidike, with its incomes, ὀροκόπιον (for the cutting of wood), ἐννόμιον (for the grazing of flocks), σὺν ταῖς ἐκεῖσε στροβιλαίαις. This term is clearly a derivative of στρόβιλος, PINE or FIR (q.v.). The conifer which flourishes in this area of S.Khalkidike is *pinus halepensis*, still being exploited early this century for resin, pitch, and firewood,²⁹³ but not valued as a source of timber. Other varieties of pine have served for that. The pine-nut or pine-kernel derived from the cone (στρόβιλος, στροβίλον, στροβίλιον²⁹⁴) of *pinus pinea* was of course valued and traded.²⁹⁵ In this context *strobilaiai* are probably a range of exploitations of pine- and fir-trees being labelled with a general description, and by extension the fiscal revenues accruing from them. Given the mention of *orokopion*, *strobilaiai* may refer mainly to resin and

289. Colophon was an ancient city of Ionia: see *The Princeton Encyclopaedia of Classical Sites* (Princeton 1976) 233. *Frixae* is reasonably identifiable with Phrygia.

290. *Lauffer* 283.

291. See *Meiggs*, Appendix 3.1.

292. Zakythinios, *Le despotat grec de Morée* II, 247.

293. Turrill, *The Plant-life of the Balkan Peninsula*, 201.

294. See *Ducange* and *Sophocles*, ss.vv.

295. *Diocletian* 6.54: nuclei pinei purgati/στροβίλων καθάρων. See *Lauffer* 230 for further ancient references.

pitch. Licences or rents for their extraction are documented in Antiquity. Their Byzantine successors were here being granted away by the emperor.

Styrax, storax/στύραξ, στόραξ(?)

Sfikas(2), no.172 (*styrax officinalis*), a small tree or shrub, called in Modern Greek (α)στύρακας, στόραξ, στουράκι, and derivatives.²⁹⁶ From it the fragrant resinous gum of the same name was extracted; used in perfumes, fumigation, medical preparations, wine-flavouring etc.²⁹⁷ *Diocletian* 36.57-58 deals with *storax* of Cilicia and Antioch (i.e., Syria), *Aezani* 34.45 deals with *olei styracini*. The storax of Anatolia is further documented in both Antiquity and the Middle Ages.²⁹⁸ The storax of Syria is certainly recorded in Antiquity.²⁹⁹

Sumach/ρόυς, ρούσιον

Sfikas(2), nos. 105-106 (*rhus coriaria* and *rhus cotinus/coccygria*), a tree-like shrub. *Rh.coriaria* is the Modern Greek ρούδι,³⁰⁰ or σουμάκι,³⁰¹ *rh.cotinus* being κότινος.³⁰² The leaves and bark were ground into powders for dyeing fabrics and hides black, and were also used in traditional medical preparations.³⁰³ The wood itself was the source of a yellow dye, and the berry was used traditionally in cooking.³⁰⁴ According to the Cairo *Genizeh* archive sumach-extracts were exported from northern Syria to Egypt.³⁰⁵ The *rhus* of Syria is mentioned in Roman and Late Roman sources, and the Arabs seem to have named a mountain

296. See D.Demetrakos, *Μέγα λεξικόν της ελληνικής γλώσσας* (Athens 1936-1951), ss.vv.

297. *Idem*, sub στυρακάτον.

298. See *Lauffer* 285 and *T.I.B.* 5. *Kilikien und Isaurien* 111.

299. See *West* 165 (Table II).

300. *Rackham*(2) 349 (Appendix I).

301. *Sfikas*(2) 213.

302. *Sfikas*(2) 206; *Rackham*(2) 348 (Appendix I).

303. *Lombard* 144. There was an extract of *rous* used for medical purposes, but unspecified, according to the *Geoponica*, 16.8.2.

304. The botanist Sibthorp noted both in Macedonia. See Walpole (ed.), *Memoirs relating to European and Asiatic Turkey* 238.

305. *Goitein* 213.

there after it.³⁰⁶ The extracts were also produced in Cyprus in the Middle Ages.³⁰⁷ The archives of Mount Athos mention several placenames containing the substantive *rousion*, which should indicate the presence of one or other of the shrubs in southern (Mediterranean-to-Transitional) Macedonia.³⁰⁸ Their exploitation was recorded by the professional botanist Dr John Sibthorp, who toured S.Macedonia in 1787.³⁰⁹ 'Ρούσιος was an adjective indicating a range of dyes and colours.³¹⁰ The substantive *rousion* however is not, to my knowledge, to be found in dictionaries.

Terebinth, Turpentine-tree, Lentisk/τερέβινθος, τέρμινθος
Sfikas(2), nos.101-104: a group of trees of the *pistacia* family, the Modern Greek τερέβινθος.³¹¹ To Sfikas's list can be added the *pistacia atlantica* of Anatolia (*Polunin* 120). One of the group, *p.lentiscus*, has a sub-species the MASTICH-TREE (q.v.). *P.terebinthus* was and is widespread in Syria, Cyprus, and Greece.³¹² *Diocletian* 36.115 probably regulates the price of the wood of the terebinth. The tree was also traditionally recommended as grafting stock.³¹³ The terebinth was one of the most commercially useful of the spontaneously occurring trees and shrubs of the E.Mediterranean. For its many primary and secondary products see the entry for τερεβινθίνη.

306. See *West* 165 (Table II) for Roman and Late Roman references. See *Honigmann* col. 1554 and 1560 for the mountain.

307. Richard, *art.cit.* n.282,340.

308. For instance *Athos XIV. Iviron* I, no.10 (996) l. 58 — Ρούσια Περσίνια; *Iviron* I, no.29 (1047) l. 56 — Ρούσια Κρημνά; *Athos XIII. Docheiariou*, no.29 (1355) l. 6 — Ρούσιον.

309. See n.304 for Sibthorp's observation. For the date of his expedition (not mentioned in Walpole's edition) see the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

310. *Ducange*, sub ρουσαίος, ρούσιος et al. Koukoulès, mistakenly I believe, derives the dye *rousios* from ποιά (mulberry): *Koukoulès* II/B 37.

311. Lefort finds the name σμαρδέλι in use in S. Macedonia (*Athos XIV. Iviron* I, 168), which therefore explains the σμάρδαλος of *Iviron* I, no.10 (996) l. 58, and the σμαρδέλος of *Athos XVI. Iviron* II, no.50 (1101) ll. 21 and 22. The terebinth was certainly exploited in Macedonia: see under TEPEBINΘINH in this section.

312. *Meiggs* 469; M.Rowton, 'The woodlands of ancient western Asia', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 26 (1967) 273, for Syria.

313. *Geoponica* 10.24,10.65.2,10.76.1-4.

τερεβινθίνη

Extracts of different kinds of TEREBINTH (q.v.) including probably the MASTICH-TREE of Chios (q.v.), principally a natural turpentine. *Diocletian* 36.127-128 regulates *terebinthinae Chiaae* (therefore probably of the Chian mastich-tree) and *terebinthinae secundae*, probably the extracts of the other varieties of terebinth. *Aezani* 33.7 deals with *resinae terebinthinae*. RESIN and PITCH were still being extracted from the wild terebinth of Greece in recent times.³¹⁴ They had many uses for the preservation of timber and woodwork of all kinds, and for the preparation of volatile oils, and in the composition of skin-treatments. To these could be added the use of this particular resin as a preservative of wine.³¹⁵ Oils were extracted from the berries of some types of wild terebinth, and from the nut produced by another uncultivated variety, *p.palaestina*, some or all of which were called σχινέλαιον.³¹⁶ A seventeenth-century traveller noted that one species of 'lentisk' (i.e., terebinth) in Greece was a source of soap-ashes.³¹⁷ GALLS also occur on the terebinth. This and its BARK were traditionally exploited for tanning and dyeing purposes,³¹⁸ as were its leaves.³¹⁹ The wild terebinth was therefore one of the most useful of the spontaneously occurring trees of the E.Mediterranean, and one hesitates to simply equate *terebinthine* with natural turpentine.

314. See *Polunin* 202 for the distinction between the extracts of the terebinth in general and the mastich-tree in particular. See Gavrieldides, *art.cit.* n.13, 152, for the exploitation of the wild terebinth until recent times.

315. See Semple, *The Geography of the Mediterranean Region. Its relation to Ancient History*, 282; also *Geoponica* 7.12.28.

316. *Sophocles*, s.v. See *Geoponica* 9.18.1 and 16.8.2 for the oil (*elaion*) extracted from the berries (τοῦ καρποῦ τῆς τερεβίνθου). The collection and exportation of the berry was noted by Belon in S Macedonia in 1546: *Belon*(1) 113. See *Sfikas*(2), no.103 for p.palastina.

317. *Rackham*(2) 331.

318. *Belon*(2) 126; *Polunin* 202.

319. *Belon*(1) 113.

τραγάκανθα

A gum exuded by and tapped from shrubs of the *Astragalus* family,³²⁰ used in medical preparations. In the Middle Ages it was produced in S.E. Anatolia, whence it was exported.³²¹ It was also exported from the Peloponnese,³²² and from N. Syria.³²³

Wormwood/ἄψινθιον, ἀψιθεα³²⁴

A group of shrubs of the *Artemisia* family: see *Sfikas*(1), no.54. Called in Modern Greek αψιθιά and variants. *Diocletian* 36.65 regulates the price of ἄψινθιον (wormwood, or extract of wormwood?). *Aezani* 34.19 regulates the price of *Apsinthis* (sic) *in herva pontici*, which shows it being traded as a primary product.³²⁵ *Aezani* may well refer here to *artemisia pontica*,³²⁶ known as 'Roman wormwood'.³²⁷ An oil was expressed from its leaves and shoots. The wood, leaves, and oil, were used variously to repel or kill insects.³²⁸ The plant and its extracts were used in medical preparations and drinks, including wines,³²⁹ called ἄψινθίτης or ἄψινθάτον, which were attributed all kinds of 'medicinal' properties.

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320. Presumably mainly from *a.tragacantha* (*Van Wijk* 1, 144). It has been called in English 'adragant', 'astragal', 'tragacanth', 'goat's thorn' and variants thereof.

321. *T.I.B.* 5. *Kilikien und Isaurien* 111. It continued to be exported from Anatolia (*Van Wijk* 1, 142).

322. Zakythinos, *Le despotat grec de Morée* II 237. It continued to be exported from the Peloponnese (*Van Wijk* 1, 142).

323. *Goitein* 213.

324. *Ducange*, ss. vv.

325. See *Aezani* 205 (Commentary).

326. See *Van Wijk* 1, 127 for this plant.

327. *Geoponica* 2.27.6, 2.36.4, 13.1.9, 13.15.1. See *Aezani* 205 (Commentary) and *Lauffer* 286 for Antiquity.

328. For Antiquity see *Aezani* and *Lauffer*, loc. cit. See *Geoponica* 2.47.7, 7.24.1 and 8.21, for wormwood in wines.

329. See *Geoponica* 2.47.7 and 8.21 for the former, where it is attributed all kinds of 'medicinal' properties. See *Ducange*, s. v., for the latter.

- Aezani* N.Crawford-J.Reynolds, 'The Aezani copy of the Price Edict', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 34 (1979) 163-210 (a continuation of the same authors' study, with the same title in *ZPE* 26)
- Athos* *Archives de l'Athos* (I etc.). *Actes de* (Lavra etc.)
- Belon*(1) P.Belon, *Les obseruations de plusieurs singularitez et choses memorables, trouuées en Grèce, Asie, Indée, Egypte, et autres pays estrangers* (Anvers 1555)
- Belon*(2) *op.cit.* (Paris 1588)
- Diocletian* *Diokletians Preisedikt*, ed. S.Lauffer (Berlin 1971), TEXT (89-211 and 299-305)
- Ducange* C.Ducange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae graecitatis* (Lyons 1688)
- Eparch* *Das Eparchenbuch Leons des Weisen*, ed. J.Koder (*CFHB* 32, Vienna 1991)
- Geoponica* *Geoponica sive Cassiani Bassi scholastici de re rustica eclogae*, ed. H.Beckh (Leipzig 1895)
- Goitein* S.Goitein, *A mediterranean society, the Jewish communities of the Arab world as portrayed in the documents of the Cairo Geniza I. Economic foundations* (University of California Press 1967)
- Harvey* A.Harvey, *Economic expansion in the Byzantine empire 900-1200* (Cambridge 1989)
- Hendy* M.Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine monetary economy c.300-1450* (Cambridge 1985)
- Honigmann* E.Honigmann, 'Syria', *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 2. Reihe, 4. Band, col. 1549-1727
- JGR* *Jus graecoromanum* I-VIII, edd. I.Zepos-P.Zepos (Athens 1931)
- Koukoulès* (I-VI) Ph.Koukoulès, *Βυζαντινών βίος και πολιτισμός* I-VIII (Athens 1948-1955)

- Kriaras* E.Kriaras, Λεξικό της μεσαιωνικής ελληνικής δημώδους γραμματείας 1100-1669 (Thessalonike 1968 onwards)
- Laographika* Ph.Koukoulès, Θεσσαλονίκης Ευσταθίου τα λαογραφικά I-II (Athens 1950)
- Lauffer* 'Erläuterungen', *Diokletians Preisedikt* (see *Diocletian*) 213-93
- Lombard* M.Lombard, *Études d'économie médiévale* III. *Les textiles dans le monde musulman du VII^e au XII^e siècle* (Paris 1978)
- Meiggs* R.Meiggs, *Trees and timber in the ancient Mediterranean world* (Oxford 1982)
- Polunin* O.Polunin, *Trees and bushes of Europe* (Oxford 1976)
- Rackham*(1) O.Rackham, 'Land-use and native vegetation in Greece', *Archaeological aspects of woodland ecology*, ed. M.Bell-S.Limbrey (B.A.R. S142, 1982) 177-198
- Rackham*(2) O.Rackham, 'Observations on the historical ecology of Boeotia', *ABSA* 78 (1983) 291-351
- Sfikas*(1) G.Sfikas, *Medicinal plants of Greece* (Athens 1979)
- Sfikas*(2) G.Sfikas, *Arbres et arbustes sauvages de la Grèce* (Athens 1983)
- Sophocles* E.Sophocles, *Greek lexikon of the Roman and Byzantine periods (from B.C. 146 to A.D. 1100)* I-II (New York 1888)
- T.I.B.* *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*
- Van Wijk* H.Gerth van Wijk, *A dictionary of plant-names* I-II (Haarlem 1911-16, reprinted with corrections in 1971)
- West* L.West, 'Commercial Syria under the Roman Empire', *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 55 (1924) 159-89

The Influence of Katharevousa on the Phonology of Modern Greek

MARGARET KOFOD

Much has been written on Greek diglossia and the language struggle (between *katharevousa* and *dhimotiki*). Defenders of *katharevousa* have emphasized the importance of the language's roots in ancient Greek, opponents of *katharevousa* have emphasized the idea that the Greek language should be first and foremost 'the language of the people'. More recently, the focus of the discussion has shifted to what constitutes 'true' *dhimotiki* and the extent to which certain *katharevousa* elements are acceptable to the modern language; see for instance G. Babiniotis, *Νεοελληνική κοινή. Πέρα της καθαρεύουσας και της δημοτικής* (Athens 1979) and *A Linguistic Approach to the 'Language Question' in Greece* (BMGS 5, 1979), E. Kriaras' reactions to Babiniotis' views in his *Άρθρα και σημειώματα ενός δημοτικιστή* (Athens 1979) and Mesevrinos' *Η προδομένη γλώσσα* (Nicosia 1973). All of these writers are more concerned with determining what should be considered correct or acceptable to the modern language than with analysing actual usage. In general, very little of the discussion is concerned with the spoken language. M. Setatos' article *Φαινομενολογία της καθαρεύουσας* (Επιστημονική Επετηρίς της Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής, 1973) is particularly interesting because it sets out to analyse the place of *katharevousa* in the modern language (both written and spoken) rather than arguing for or against *katharevousa*. Setatos has also written the most detailed analysis of modern Greek phonology (*Φωνολογία της κοινής νεοελληνικής*, Athens 1974). Other interesting articles on *katharevousa* elements in the spoken language have been written by Philippaki-Warburton,¹

1. I. Philippaki-Warburton, 'Greek diglossia and some aspects of the phonology of Common Modern Greek', *Journal of Linguistics* 16 (1979) 45-54.

Tsopanakis,² and Petrounias.³ However, there has in fact been scarcely any empirical research on modern Greek phonology and the extent to which spoken Greek has been influenced by katharevousa. It is perhaps understandable, given the social and historical context, that there has been so much emphasis on theory; the priority has been establishing norms on an acceptable theoretical basis, in the midst of the confusion caused by diglossia, and the question 'what is actual practice in spoken Greek now, at the end of the twentieth century?' has had to wait.

Empirical research on a spoken language is, of course, limited to an impression at one particular moment of time; every living language is constantly changing, both through internal (socio-linguistic) factors and through external factors (loan-words etc.) However, it seemed to me that empirical research on spoken Greek at this point in time would be particularly interesting; has katharevousa, which was imposed on the Greek people almost as a form of brain-washing or indoctrination, had a permanent influence not only on the written language, but also on the spoken language, or even on the actual phonology of the language? Or has its influence been merely superficial? In 1976 katharevousa was finally abolished as the official language (the language struggle has now shifted its focus to the question: what is true *dhimotiki*?); children who entered the school system after 1976 have never been directly exposed to katharevousa at school. Is the influence of katharevousa diminishing as a result? Are the phonological laws formulated by the important pioneering linguists Psycharis, Hatzidakis, Mirambel and Roussel around the beginning of the century still valid?

In 1989/90 I carried out a small-scale research project as a first step in answering some of the questions posed above. The project consisted of an examination of four phonetic phenomena which occur in katharevousa but which do not comply with the

2. A.G. Tsopanakis, Ο δρόμος προς την Δημοτική (Thessaloniki 1982) 270-301.

3. E. Petrounias, 'The Modern Greek Language and Diglossia', in *Byzantina kai Metabyzantina*, Vol I: *The 'Past' in Medieval and Modern Greek Culture*, ed. Speros Vryonis (Malibu 1978) 193-220.

phonological laws for modern Greek as described by Hatzidakis,⁴ Roussel,⁵ Newton,⁶ etc. These phenomena are:

- Voiceless obstruent clusters other than fricative + stop;
- Nasal + voiced fricative;
- Final n;
- Syllabic i preceding another vowel.

Voiceless obstruent clusters

The traditional view of linguists has been that in dhimotiki (i.e. Greek without ‘learned influence’) there are phonotactic constraints on voiceless obstruent clusters. With the exception of /sf/, there is never a combination of two voiceless stops or two voiceless fricatives.⁷ Brian Newton expresses this rule as follows:

‘Manner dissimilation I. Voiceless heterogeneous dyadic obstruent clusters other than those with s or f as second member consist of fricative + stop’ (Newton 1972: 106).

Linguists tend to mention briefly that there are exceptions to this rule; Newton, for example, writes:

‘Except in learned or foreign items, underlying dyadic obstruent clusters consist of a continuous and non-continuous member, . . .’ (Newton 1972: 106).

This means that the clusters kt, xθ, pt, fθ, sθ and sx are actually ‘inadmissible’. Words which do contain these clusters are λόγιες λέξεις, (‘learned words’), or at least λόγιας προέλευσης (‘of learned origin’). However, in contemporary modern Greek there are many everyday words which contain these clusters. Most of these words have entered the language through katharevousa, nearly always more recently than words which do conform to the rule.

4. G.N. Hatzidakis, *Μεσαιωνικά και νέα ελληνικά* (Athens 1905).

5. L. Roussel, *Grammaire descriptive du roméique littéraire*, (Paris 1922).

6. B. Newton, *The Generative Interpretation of Dialect: a Study of Modern Greek Phonology* (Cambridge 1972).

7. Cf. Hatzidakis (1905) 161; M.A. Triantafyllides, *Νεοελληνική γραμματική* (της δημοτικής) (Athens 1941) 86.

Some examples of everyday words are: /pe'riptosi/ (*case*), /'ptoma/ (*corpse*, but also slang for *exhausted*), /pti'xio/ (*diploma*), /e'ktos apo/ (*except*), /efxari'sto/ (*thank you*). Other very common examples are: /asθe'nis/ (*patient*), /e'sθanome/ (*feel*), /mi'sθos/ (*wages*), /pro'sθeto/ (*add*), /'ktima/ (*property*), /a'kti/ (*coast*), /ple'kti/ (*knitted*), /a'fθormita/ (*spontaneously*), /'aptesta/ (*flawlessly*), /γpa'pto/ (*written*), /le'pta/ (*minutes*), /'sxesi/ (*relationship*), /sxeti'ka/ (*relatively*), /sxe'ðon/ (*almost*), /sxo'lio/ (*school*). Clusters containing εν- (ef/ev) and αυ- (af/av) never follow the rule; common examples are /ði'efθinsi/ (*address*), /e'fθini/ (*responsibility*), (a'fθormita/ (*spontaneously*). Many of the medial clusters which do not conform to the rule occur at morpheme boundaries: e.g. in words with the prefixes εκ-, προσ-.

There are so many words containing these clusters that we can scarcely dismiss them as exceptions. They have become part of the common language. Nevertheless, there are several peculiarities in the situation. On the one hand there are words that seem to be more or less stable in pronunciation; i.e. a different pronunciation would strike other speakers as 'peculiar'. This is true both of words with + D clusters and words with + K clusters. But there is also a considerable number of words which are not stable. Some of these vary in pronunciation from person to person, some in the course of half an hour's conversation with one person.

Another peculiarity is that minimal pairs of everyday words contrasting these clusters are extremely rare. Pairs of words of which one belongs to everyday speech and the other to more technical or scientific language (which is more likely to be written than spoken) are not so uncommon, but these pairs often differ in other respects as well; e.g. /ðiktio/ (*network*) and /ðixti/ (*net* in the literal sense, e.g. *fishing-net*).⁸ Examples of contrasting pairs of everyday words are /γpa'pto/ (*written*) and /γpa'fto/ (*fate*), /le'pta/ (*minutes*) and /le'fta/ (*money*).

The distinction learned/popular or katharevousa/dhimotiki can

8. See M. Setatos, Τα ετυμολογικά σημασιολογικά ζεύγη λόγιων και δημοτικών λέξεων της κοινής νεοελληνικής (Thessaloniki 1969) for many other examples.

now only be applied to the origins of these words; words like /'ptoma/ and /pe'riptero/ can hardly be labelled learned. Yet their pronunciation seems to be very stable in the language today; */'ftoma/ and */pe'riftero/ are quite unthinkable.

Nasal + voiced fricative

Clusters consisting of nasal + voiced fricative are the result of spelling pronunciation. The ancient Greek β, δ and γ were stops which eventually became fricatives except when preceded by nasals. Triantafyllides states for dhimotiki: after a nasal consonant the ancient β, γ and δ in words like κόμβος, δένδρον and άγγελος retain their ancient pronunciation and are written: κόμπος, δέντρο, άγγελος.⁹

However, there are in fact many examples of everyday words containing this sort of medial cluster; examples are: /'simvulos/ (*adviser*), /simvo'li/ (*contribution*), /'simvasi/ (*contract*), /'amvonas/ (*pulpit*), /vam'vaki/ (*cotton*), /sim'veni/ (*it happens*), /'emvrio/ (*embryo*), /'kinðinos/ (*danger*), /lon'ðino/ (*London*), /in'ðia/ (*India*). As far as I know there are no minimal pairs contrasting nasal + voiced fricative and nasal + voiced stop.¹⁰

Many of the examples of /mv/ are to be found in words with the prefixes συν- or εν-.

Another rule for dhimotiki is deletion of nasals before voiceless fricatives, e.g. πενθερός → /peθe'ros/, νύμφη → /'nifi/. This sometimes also happens with voiced fricatives, e.g. /'simvasi/ → ['sivasi]. Often the preceding vowel is nasalized. Articles and the negative particle δε before voiced fricatives do not have a final n: /to ðromo/, /ena 'γamo/, /ðe'vrisko/.

Final /n/

Katharevousa, being based on ancient Greek, admits many final consonants, whereas modern Greek admits only s, and n in certain

9. M.A. Triantafyllides, *Νεοελληνική γραμματική (της δημοτικής)* (Athens 1941) 86.

10. There are doublets like /ko'limbi/ (*swimming*) and /kolimvi'tis/ (*swimmer*), both of which seem to be stable.

cases: in some forms of the articles and in the negative particle *δε* followed by vowels or stops,¹¹ in genitive plurals, in the personal pronoun /ton/, in the conjunctions /'otan/, /san/, /an/, in some verb endings (/an/, /un/) and in +K words like /'melon/ (*future*), /pa'ron/ (*present*), /parel'thon/ (*past*). The verbs have alternative endings /-ane/, /-une/, /-una/, but it is not clear whether they are in completely free variation, rhythmic variation or idelect variation.

Syllabic /i/ before vowels

This phenomenon has always posed problems for phonologists. All agree that there are 5 vowel phonemes in Greek, but there are differing views on diphthongs, vowel sequences, semivowels and palatalized consonants. The problems arise when one attempts to make a phonemic transcription of words like *μηλιά* (*apple tree*), *εννιά* (*nine*), *παιδιά* (*children*), *καινούριος* (*new*), *γιατρός* (*doctor*), *μάτια* (*eyes*), *αλήθεια* (*truth*), etc. Is there a separate series of palatalized phonemes /ʎ/, /ɲ/, /j/, /ç/, /ʝ/ and /c/? Do *μηλιά* and *μιλά* (*he/she speaks*) (/mi'ʎa/ and /mi'la/) form a minimal pair? Is the first sound of *γιατρός* an allophone of /ɣ/ which occurs before a front vowel? Or is the first sound in *γιατρός* and the sound after *δ* in *παιδιά* a semivowel? If the first sound of *γέροι* is a separate phoneme /j/, should there not be a corresponding separate phoneme for the first sound of *χέρι* (*hand*), which is its voiceless equivalent?

Setatos includes 2 falling and 5 rising diphthongs in his phoneme system.¹² Petrounias on the other hand denies the existence of rising diphthongs in modern Greek, saying that except after *r* weakened *i* is pronounced by most speakers as a consonant.¹³

According to Petrounias true demotic Greek does not allow

11. However, these proclitics form one unit with the following word, e.g. [to'nandra], [tomba'tera], [ðeŋ'gzero], so that is not really a final *n* in these cases.

12. M. Setatos (1974) 10.

13. E. Petrounias, *Νεοελληνική γραμματική και συγκριτική ανάλυση* (Thessaloniki 1977) 397.

iV and eV sequences.¹⁴ Petrounias regards katharevousa as a foreign language and is of the opinion that words which do contain these sequences are foreign loan-words.

Newton describes the process of glide formation as follows:

'A high vowel converts to its corresponding glide in the environment before and after a vowel, any stress which it bears being transferred to this vowel' (Newton 1972: 32).

Newton's aim was to 'establish a descriptive framework for the study of Greek dialects' (1972: 1) and he did not intend to suggest that these processes were universal rules for modern Greek. There are many words, especially katharevousa words, in modern Greek which resist glide formation. Words which have entered the language recently via international scientific language do not undergo synizesis, e.g. /γλοςολο'jia/ (*linguistics*), /anato'mia/ (*anatomy*). There are (rare) examples of words forming minimal pairs, of which one has and one has not undergone synizesis:

[a'dia] (leave)	[a'dja] (empty)
[sci'azo] (scare)	['scazo] (shade)

There are many more examples of semantically differing words in one of which the stress has remained on the i:

[pe'ðia] (culture)	[pe'ðja] (children)
[vasi'lias] (kingdom, gen.)	[vasi'las] (king)
[evlo'jia] (blessing)	[evlo'ja] (smallpox)
[sti'cio] (element)	[sti'co] (ghost)
[ðu'lia] (slavery)	[ðu'la] (work)

Many words can undergo synizesis either in free variation or depending on the individual, the style and the tempo, without any semantic distinction. Triantafyllides gives the examples [aði'avroxo] / [a'ðjavroxo], [vo'ithia] / [vo'ithça], [paralia'kos] / [para'la'kos] (Triantafyllides 1941: 73).

In rapid tempo or even in some speakers' normal conversational tempo even some words which normally resist synizesis (+K

14. E. Petrounias, *Differences between Dhimotiki and Katharevousa* (Thessaloniki 1981) 6.

words) do undergo it. It seems there is a continuum from syllabic *i* or *e* to glide formation (semivowel) to fricativization or palatalization, e.g. [ðia'vazo] → [ðja'vazo] → [ðja'vazo] (διαβάζω, *I read*). However, *stressed i* resists synizesis even in rapid speech.

Research project

The aim of this project was to ascertain whether the influence of katharevousa on the pronunciation and phonology of modern Greek and on the attitudes of Greeks towards pronunciation is diminishing as a result of the educational reforms of 1976. Children who are now in the last three years of secondary education have not been exposed to katharevousa at school. Nevertheless, they will certainly have been influenced by it to some extent, through the older members of their families, through teachers, through the media. All their parents, if they have any education beyond the first few years of primary school, will have been exposed to katharevousa at school and therefore influenced by it to some extent, and even now many teachers believe that it is a 'better' language.

The material was collected in Thessaloniki in September/October 1989 and March/April 1990. 48 informants were interviewed: 24 *likio*¹⁵ students (14 girls, 10 boys, aged 15-18) and 24 of their parents (13 mothers, 11 fathers). All of the children were born and bred in Thessaloniki. Some of the parents were born in different areas, but all have lived in Thessaloniki all of their adult lives. The parents varied in age from 36 to 57.

Because of the limited extent of the project I decided to collect data only from inhabitants of Thessaloniki, which is the second largest city in Greece (population 1 million). The informants came from varying social backgrounds and educational levels. Some parents were university lecturers, some had had only primary school education. The children, who were all *likio* students, all belong to the more educated group in their age bracket.¹⁶

15. Secondary school in Greece consists of 3 years of *yimnásio* followed by 3 years of *likio*.

16. However, a very high percentage of Greek children attends *likio*.

I divided the informants into categories according to the parents' education and occupations. Category I consists of parents who had completed only primary school or a little more and their children (6 children, 9 parents). Category II parents had completed six years of secondary school and are businessmen, accountants, etc. (7 children, 9 parents). Category III parents have a university education (6 parents, 11 children). I will refer to these categories occasionally, even though the sample is so small.

Most of the informants were introduced to me by teachers of the children. The informants were not aware of the actual aim of the project; they were told that it was about the differences in the way the two generations express themselves.

Method

The first and most important part of the project was to find out how the informants pronounced words containing the relevant phenomena. The method for collecting material consisted of a combination of free conversation and a questionnaire. All the material was recorded. The interviews began with general questions about everyday topics: for the children, hobbies, sport, family, holidays etc., for the parents, work, where they were born and grew up, holidays, free time, children, etc.

The questionnaire consisted of sentences in which a word had to be replaced by a synonym, an antonym, a different tense or voice for a verb, etc. Some of the sentences are irrelevant (e.g. the first of each set) but most of them were devised to elicit a particular word. An Example:

Ο Γιάννης οικοδόμησε το δικό του σπίτι στο δάσος.
(Yannis built his own house in the woods).

The word required to replace *οικοδόμησε* in this case was ['extise] or ['ektise]. Another section of the questionnaire consisted of sums (e.g. $21 - 19 < 3617 - 18$) which the informants were asked to read aloud. All the words elicited *sometimes* contain + K phonetic features.

There is, I think, a reasonable chance that the informants were only occupied with finding the 'right' word and would not have

been paying attention to the way they pronounced it, so that the pronunciation of the word is spontaneous.

After this questionnaire there was a second period of free conversation, now directed towards schooling and in particular Greek lessons. I asked the children what they thought of Greek as a subject at school, if they were interested in language, if there was any discussion in class in Greek lessons, if they read books apart from those required for their school-work, whether any emphasis was placed on diction, whether this had been the case at primary school. The parents were asked more or less the same questions and also whether they thought there was much difference between the way they had been taught Greek at school and the way their children are being taught now and whether this difference constituted an improvement or not. I let the informants talk as freely as possible, only asking a question when they had nothing more to say.

Because of the limited time available the material is not very homogeneous. The length of free conversation varies from 5 to 45 minutes. (The total length of free conversation was 373 minutes for the younger generation and 494 for the older generation). If an informant did not produce the required word for one of the sentences in the questionnaire or could not think of any suitable word, I thought it better to continue and not to spend too much time prompting.

The reason I chose a combination of questionnaire and free conversation is that there are disadvantages in both systems. Free conversation is generally more reliable for phonetic data because it is more likely to be spontaneous, but even this spontaneity is limited (in some cases) by the fact that I am not Greek (and speech is affected to some extent by the fact that it is addressed to a foreigner) and also simply because the informants do not know me. Not everybody is capable of speaking freely and spontaneously to a complete stranger with a tape recorder. (However, many of my informants did not seem to be bothered by this at all). As this disadvantage goes for both generations it will not have an effect on the *comparison* of the results.

The disadvantage of free conversation in this case is that the

particular phenomena being examined (i.e. words which exist in two forms, one + D and one + K) are not very frequent, so that a vast amount of free conversation would be required to establish anything. Apart from the fact that there was simply no time for this, it would be very inefficient.

The disadvantage of the questionnaire is that it is rather like a test at school. Informants tend to think they are going to be *judged* on their performance. Some of the sentences were funny (or odd), as I hoped this would distract the informants and help them to relax. Nevertheless, it was quite a problem, especially for parents who had not occupied themselves with language and grammar for many years, as they felt stupid if they could not find the 'right' word. When asked to supply verb forms they tended to use katharevousa forms which they would be very unlikely to use in normal conversation, e.g. /e'lifθi/ instead of /'liftike/ or /'lifθike/.

Six months later a second questionnaire was presented to the informants with the aim of finding out their opinions on and attitudes towards pronunciation. They were shown a number of sentences in which two versions of certain words were underlined, e.g. φτηνά/φθηνά, χτίστης/κτίστης, and asked how these words are *usually* pronounced in ordinary conversation and what they are considered to be the *correct* pronunciation. Any opinions, associations etc. expressed in connection with the pronunciation of these words were encouraged. It was impressed on the informants that the questions did not relate to the *spelling* of the words, but the *sound*. 22 parents and 24 children answered this questionnaire.

Results

It is difficult to quantify the results of this research in a satisfactory way. Both pronunciation and attitudes towards pronunciation vary according to individual words,¹⁷ and while

17. Many of the words elicited in the questionnaire are included in the list of words containing learned and demotic consonant clusters in the Νεοελληνική γραμματική — Αναπροσαρμογή της Μικρής νεοελληνικής γραμματικής του Μανόλη Τριανταφυλλίδη (Athens 1976) 214-17.

it is interesting to note the pronunciation of individual words, the real aim of the project was to pinpoint developments in the phonology of the language itself.

First, the consonant clusters: Table I shows a list of the words elicited in the first questionnaire with the results. The totals are not consistent because not every informant produced every word. The first and second columns of figures show the number of informants who produced respectively only the +D or +K variant, either once or several times, either in the questionnaire or in free conversation. The third column shows the number who produced both forms in the course of the interview.

Table II shows some of the words produced by the informants in free conversation and the way they were pronounced. Some of these words were included in the questionnaire. The number here is the number of utterances of a word, either by one person or more.

Table III shows the results of the second questionnaire (the norm questionnaire) set out against the results of the first questionnaire and free speech for the same words.

Some words were consistently pronounced by all informants in one particular way, but many words were pronounced in two ways, i.e. there is a +D variant and a +K variant. If the results for all of these 'variable' cases are added up it becomes evident that there is in fact a tendency for the younger generation to choose the +D variant more frequently.

The most common variable words are those containing the clusters kt or xt, e.g. χτίζω (*I build*), τακτικά (*regularly*), απέκτησε (*he/she acquired*). Several fairly frequent words were consistently pronounced with kt, e.g. κτήμα (*property*) and all derivatives of ηλέκτρο-, but there are very few words which were always pronounced with xt (an example is χτυπώ (*I strike*) and derivatives). +K words were pronounced slightly more often with xt in free conversation than in the questionnaire. Even in this limited sample most words which would normally be pronounced with kt were occasionally pronounced with xt.

There are fewer variable words containing the other clusters. Several words containing the clusters sx and pt are very common

in free speech, e.g. σχολείο (*school*), ασχολούμαι (*I occupy myself*), σχεδόν (*almost*), σχετικά (*relatively*), σχέση (*relation*), περίπτωση (*case*), πτυχίο (*diploma*), αναπτύσσω (*I develop*). These are all completely stable in pronunciation. There are scarcely any words which may be pronounced with either cluster: the exceptions are άσχημα (*badly*), έσχισε (*he/she tore*), σκέφτομαι (*I think*), εφτά (*seven*).

The clusters xθ, fθ and sθ are rare in free conversation. There are several stable words; pronunciation [e'stanome] and [mi'stos] for αισθάνομαι (*I feel*) and μισθός (*wages*) are regarded as unacceptable and occur very rarely in the material recorded for this project.

As I had expected, words whose 'dictionary form' contains an fθ cluster spelled ευ- or αυ- are never pronounced with ft. However, the cluster pairs ft/fθ, xt/xθ and st/sθ are all pronounced in varying ways when they occur in passive verb forms such as εντάχθηκε, αναπτύχθηκε, πλέχτηκε, δημοσιεύθηκε, καταλήφθηκε, εξετάσθηκε. +K verbs are more likely to be pronounced with θ clusters by all groups, but there is a definite tendency for the younger generation to choose the t clusters more frequently; there are several passive verb forms with xθ, fθ and sθ in the free speech of the older generation e.g. [eksasfali'sθi], [eksizla'misθikan], [ana'ptixθikan], scarcely any in the free speech of the younger generation.

There are scarcely any minimal pairs contrasting the two sorts of cluster. Examples are: γραπτό/γραφτώ (*written/I enroll*); λεφτά/λεπτά (*money/minutes*); φτύνω/φθίνω (*I spit/I languish*). γραπτό and γραφτώ were in fact contrasted by all informants; however, two parents pronounced [le'fta] for 'minutes' in free conversation. There are no true minimal pairs contrasting any of the other clusters. Several informants suggested slight differences in usage, e.g. between [takti'ka] (the adjective *regular, well-ordered*) and [taxti'ka] (the adverb *regularly*), [ðjoxtijkε] and [ði'oxθike] (the latter is more 'official' and would be used in a political sense), [xondri'ka] (*broadly speaking*) and [xonðri'ka] (*in bulk*), but these were all informants with a very high level of education, and other informants denied these

distinctions, saying that [takti'ka] and [ði'oxθike] simply sound more pleasant and more correct. So it is unlikely that these distinctions are truly functional.

Whereas the clusters kt and xt seem to be more or less in free variation, there does seem to be a possible development towards a new contrast between pt and ft. There is an articulatory explanation for this difference: whereas the difference between x and k in Greek is purely one of manner (fricative or plosive), the difference between f and p is also one of place (labiodental or bilabial). In the case of the clusters kt and xt, the back of the tongue sometimes simply does not quite touch the back of the palate.

It also seems clear that the contrast between t and θ is neutralized in the clusters ft, xθ, sθ when they occur in the passive verb forms. Again, the sounds [t] and [θ] in Greek differ not only in manner of articulation but also in place. [θ] is interdental/dental, [t] is dental/alveolar (it is further forward in the mouth than, for instance, the English or Dutch [t]). However, in the clusters which occur in aorist passive verb forms like /sin'daxtike/, both place and manner of articulation of the segment after /x/ seem to be more or less in free variation; one sometimes hears a very dental [t] or a [θ] which is probably a not quite closed [t]. Often the /i/ between the stressed antepenultimate syllable and the last syllable is devoiced, which means that the [t] or [θ] is practically inaudible: [sin'daxtjke]. /θ/ is important (though not essential) in Greek as an aorist passive marker, but we must conclude that for these verbs the marker is not so much /θ/ as 'dental obstruent'.

So the possibilities of semantic contrast between the two sorts of clusters are minimal. In most cases the contrast between the two differing consonants is neutralized. The discrepancies between what informants think they say and what they actually say (see Table III) and the fact that they have to think about the choice in most cases — not only for +K words but also for words like χτίστης and οχτώ — also supports this view.

The informants' remarks about 'correct' pronunciation are interesting, especially from a sociolinguistic point of view. In

general, informants thought that the + K variant was much more frequent than it actually was (i.e. in their own recorded speech). Even if they did consider that the + D variant was more usual in ordinary conversation, they thought that the + K variant was more correct and ‘sounded better’. This is true of both generations. A striking example is οχτώ (*eight*): though both generations pronounced [o’xto] far more frequently, in free conversation as well as in reading the sums, both generations consider [o’kto] to be correct. Several parents were convinced that [o’xto] was very rare.

Typical comments were that the + D variants were only used by the old, the illiterate, villagers, the working class, that they sounded ugly, crude or were ‘μαλλιαρή’ (exaggerated form of *dhimotiki*), or simply that they were sloppy. For several cases a few informants said there was no difference in sound at all — which again suggests neutralization.

It is clear that both sorts of consonant clusters occur quite commonly in the ordinary speech of all these informants: in other words, the phonotactic constraints on obstruent clusters as described by linguists for demotic Greek at the beginning of this century certainly do not apply to the language as spoken by this group of informants.¹⁸ It would seem unrealistic to regard all words containing + K consonant clusters as foreign loan-words which have not (yet) been adapted to the phonology of modern Greek. Some of these clusters (notably [kt], [pt], [sx] occur approximately as frequently as the corresponding + D clusters. Common words containing + K clusters belong to the mainstream of the common vernacular.

The fact that the two sorts of clusters exist side by side means that contrasts and nuances are possible which would not be possible if the phonotactic constraints formulated by Newton, Hadzidakis etc. (see above) were (still) valid.

18. My own impression, based on casual observation of speech outside Thessaloniki, is that the constraints do still function in many dialects of modern Greek, especially in the speech of generations older than those interviewed for this project, i.e. the ‘old people’ referred to by the informants.

There was no difference between the two generations' treatment of final /n/; its use or avoidance is fairly consistent in all groups and the differences are in idiolect and in style and choice of words.

Fathers of all categories and category III mothers used far more genitive plurals than the rest of the informants. There were 2 children (girl III, boy II) who seemed to have a predilection for genitive plurals, but otherwise they are rare in the free speech of the younger generation. Most of the occurrences are expressions of time, e.g. /xro'non/ (*years*), /mi'non/ (*months*), /e'ton/ (*years*), school subjects, e.g. /'maθima elini'kon/ (*Greek lesson*), /kaθiji'tis angli'kon/ (*English teacher*) or the genitive of place names like Sykies or Serres (/si'con/, /se'ron/). Often /xro'non/ → [xro'no] or [xro'nō], but apart from this it is rare for the final n of a genitive plural to be deleted.

There are certain very common substantives and adverbs ending in n which scarcely ever lose their final n. The most common adverbial phrases with final n are: /tu'laxiston/, /telo'spandon/, /epi'pleon/, /'malon/, /li'pon/, /sxe'ðon/, /katar'xin/, /ðore'an/; only /tu'laxiston/ and /telo'spandon/ regularly lose their final /n/. The most common nouns are /'melon/ (*future*), /parel'θon/ (*past*), /peri'valon/ (*environment*), /enðia'feron/ (*interest*), /mi'ðen/ (*nothing*).

The frequency of other similar words depends on the personal style of the speaker, the topic of conversation, the 'level' of the conversation.

The conjunctions /prin/ (*before*), /'otan/ (*when*), and /an/ (*if*) are sometimes (though not often) assimilated to the following sound, i.e. there is deletion of n before continuants, with or without slight nasalization of the vowel and assimilation of place before stops. /san/ is assimilated more often, behaving much like the definite article.

The pronunciation of verb endings with final n or with an added vowel (/e/ or /a/) depends mainly on the environment. If a vowel or another /n/ follows there is no vowel added. Usually the verb form chosen before the particle *va* is the one without /e/, but of course the two n's become one, e.g.:

θέλουν να	→ /'θeluna/
μπορούν να	→ /bo'runa/

For all other cases it seems to be true that there is usually a vowel added: *e* except for 1st and 2nd person singular of imperfects like /'imuna/. Most of the forms which do not have an added vowel fall into 3 categories:

1. The stress falls on the antepenultimate, e.g. /'imastan/, /'jinondan/, /ka'taferan/. Some of the verb forms which are stressed on the antepenultimate have alternative forms, e.g. /'xtipisan/ or /xti'pisane/, /'zitisan/ or /zi'tisane/, /'alaksan/ or /a'laksane/, /a'kustikan/ or /áku'stikane/, /me'yalosan/ or /me'yalosane/, /te'lonan/ or /te'lonane/. But once the speaker has chosen the position of stress on the antepenultimate, a vowel can no longer be added.

2. The word is followed by an oral stop. There is no *rule* that the form without *e* is chosen before oral stops, but there is definitely a tendency in this direction. If we take all the cases in which final *n* precedes a consonant and the stress is not on the antepenultimate, we see that nearly all of them precede oral stops. However — verb forms with added vowel preceding oral stops are not rare. The variant with final *n* is especially frequent before the definite article, πολύ and και. Verb forms without added vowel before other consonants are rare. When they do occur, the final *n* is often dropped, with or without slight nasalization of the preceding vowel.

3. The ending /-un/ followed by a pause.

There is little difference in the two generations' pronunciation of syllabic *i* preceding a vowel. The choice between syllabic /i/ and synizesis in certain words depends on each person's idiolect. Only in a few instances was there a definite distinction between the generations.

In free conversation most informants pronounced the feminine indefinite article [mja], the number (*one*) ['mia]. However, several parents (6 informants from various categories) also usually pronounced the article ['mia]. The children hardly ever

pronounce the article ['mia] (there are exceptions, but they are rare).

Both generations' pronunciation of 9 is more or less consistent with their pronunciation of 7 and 8. Most parents usually pronounce [e'na] but also occasionally [e'nea]. Of the children, one boy always pronounces [e'nea], three other children pronounce [e'nea] once and in all other cases it is always [e'na].

Syllabic i preceding a vowel occurs quite frequently in the free conversation of all informants, especially in words in which the stress falls on this i. Feminine nouns ending in -'ia, e.g. /olan'ðia/ (*Holland*), /jerma'nia/ (*Germany*), /loyote'xnia/ (*literature*) /fanda'sia/ (*imagination*), /violo'jia/ (*biology*), /anato'mia/, (*anatomy*) are extremely frequent. Words containing 'io, e.g. /sxo'lio/ (*school*), /o'ðio/ (*music school*), /pti'çio/ (*diploma*), /i'ðios/ (*especially*), /ci'rios/ (*chiefly*), are also frequent; -'ie, -'iu, -'ii are less frequent but do occur, e.g. /pe'rierya/ (*curiously*), /li'kiu/ (gen. of λύκειο), /'piima/ (*poem*).

Only words in which /j/ precedes the i sometimes (though rarely) undergo synizesis: [siner'jio] and [siner'jo] (*workshop*), [ipur'jiu] and [ipur'ju] (*ministry*, gen.) all occur. Otherwise, these words never undergo synizesis. Sometimes the two vowels are pronounced as one syllable, but as a falling diphthong, e.g. λυκείου → [li'ciu].

Unstressed (but still syllabic) /i/ is also heard quite often in free conversation; there are many + K words containing it. It is possible to compare words which do and words which do not undergo synizesis in the same environment, e.g. /'xapça/ (*pills*) and /si'nepia/ (*consequence*), /a'ðerfça/ (*brothers and/or sisters*) and /afi'erona/ (*I devoted*), /ko'matça/ (*pieces*) and /ðo'matio/ (*room*), /i'lo'fapa/ (*sunshine*) and /iko'jenia/ (*family*), /jos/ (*son*) and /ioθe'to/ (*I adopt*).

There is not always a simple choice between synizesis and syllabic i; for some words there seems to be a continuum. The difference between syllabic i and synizesis is partly a difference in length. If the i is shortened to a certain point, the listener will perceive the segment as one syllable. An example is the word προσπάθεια (*effort*), which is pronounced in various different

ways in the material. A careful speaker speaking relatively slowly pronounced [pro'spaθia]. The i is fairly short in any case, as it is unstressed; but 4 syllables are heard. If the speaker is speaking more rapidly, or repeats the word several times, the i is shortened so much that it becomes a semivowel; the listener perceives only 3 syllables: [pro'spaθja]. This semivowel may be pronounced at the same height as the i, but it may also be higher. If the tongue is raised towards the palate to a certain point, friction occurs; then we can transcribe [pro'spaθça]. This is the way synizesis develops.

For many words the distinction is clear; for example, in this project the word δωμάτιο is always pronounced [ðo'matio]. The contrast with a word like κομμάτια ([ko'matça]) is obvious. However, for many words it is not so clear, and for that reason it is not possible to quantify all the cases of unstressed syllabic i.

Speakers sometimes pronounce + K words with synizesis, e.g. οικογένεια (*family*) was quite often pronounced [iko'ʝɛna]. When an enclitic follows, the accent always goes to the last syllable (e.g. [ikoje'natu]), which proves that there is an underlying syllabic i. Something similar happens with the word ασφάλεια (*insurance*): [a'sfaða], but [asfali'asu]. However, occasionally even when an enclitic follows, synizesis takes place: [ikoje'natu].

Words containing the prefix δια- are particularly interesting because they range from extremely common everyday words to more technical words and because there are several words in this group which vary considerably in pronunciation.

Words elicited in the questionnaire were διάλειμμα (*break, interval*), διάλεκτος (*dialect*), αδιάφορο (*not interesting*), ενδιαφέρον (*interesting*), διαβάσω (*read, aorist sub.*). These words also occurred regularly in free speech. Other words which occurred regularly in free speech were διάβασμα (*reading*), διάβαζα (*I used to read*), διαβάζαμε (*we used to read*), διακοπές (*holidays*), διαφορετικά (*differently*), διαφορά (*difference*), διάφορα (*various*). There are several possibilities for the phonetic realization of δια-:

— Full synizesis, i.e. just as in the last syllable of παιδιά (*children*) or βελανιδιά (*oak*): one syllable, with a palatal fricative,

[ðja]. This occurs most often if the syllable is a initial stressed syllable and the word is very common, e.g. [ðjavaza], [ðjalima], [ðjavazma].

— Pronunciation as one syllable but with a semivowel rather than a fricative consonant. This occurs in all environments, but perhaps most often if the segment δια precedes a stressed syllable, e.g. [ðja'feri], [ðja'vazo], [ðja'ðromus].

— Pronunciation of two syllables, but with the i very short and weak. This has about the same distribution as the second possibility.

— The i receives a slight secondary stress and the a is distorted: somewhat centralized. This tends to happen in words where the main stress is not on the syllable immediately following δια. It is most common in the word διακοπές: [ðiako'pes], but also occurs regularly in διαφορετικά, διαφορά, etc. There is one syllable, but it is a falling diphthong rather than a rising one. The most noticeable feature of this pronunciation is the distortion of the a.

— The i is truly syllabic. This is the normal pronunciation of less common words, e.g. [ðia'teti], [ði'astima], etc.

The border lines between these 5 possibilities are by no means clear-cut!

There is little difference between the two generations' pronunciation. Only the word /enðia'feron/ shows a marked distinction. The younger generation usually pronounces [eðja'feron] or [ðja'feron], whereas the older generation more usually pronounces [enðiaferon]. Other factors must be responsible for the variation in pronunciation, e.g. carefulness of speech, family variants etc.

Words which do not undergo synizesis occur about as frequently as words which do, so that for the present situation we cannot regard them as 'foreign loan-words' which do not conform to modern Greek phonology. Like the words containing +K consonantal clusters, they belong to the mainstream of the common spoken language.

The number of +K elements in speech depends of course on the number of +K *words* used by the speaker. The older generation uses more +K vocabulary, expressions, morphology and syntax; the children do not use +K morphology or syntax in their everyday conversation. The vocabulary chosen by a speaker depends on the speaker's education, the topic, the style, and the general situation; it is of course quite possible that the children will use more +K vocabulary later in their lives. However, as they have not learnt katharevousa at school, it is very unlikely that, even later in life, they will use +K morphological and syntactical elements. For the moment, the +K phonetic features of certain words seem to be the only remnants of katharevousa in the everyday speech of the younger generation.

Even though many words containing +K features have been assimilated into the modern Greek language, +K features still provide expressive and stylistic means. Setatos has discussed at length the situations in which katharevousa is used, both consciously and unconsciously, and the effects it can have. 'A katharevousa word or expression is related to the whole set of values which katharevousa stands for' (Setatos 1973, p. 88).

Since children no longer actually *learn* katharevousa, they scarcely use it at all in their speech; nevertheless, their comments on 'correct' pronunciation show they can still use katharevousa elements to colour their speech. They are also still sensitive to the emotional connotations of +K and +D features: they still tend to regard +D features as '*laiká*', 'working-class', 'uneducated', etc. and +K features as 'more official', 'more pleasing', or (in the more highly educated groups) 'comical'.

However, these connotations do not apply to the everyday words of *learned derivation* which have been discussed in this paper. Whether we regard katharevousa as a 'foreign language' or not, its influence on the phonology of modern Greek is still present and seems to be permanent; but of course we cannot predict what will happen to the (now somewhat irregular) phonology of Greek in future generations. In 1922 Louis Roussel wrote:

'Il se passe pour le roméique ce qui s'est passé pour le français de la Renaissance. Une langue en devenant littéraire dit adieu à sa belle régularité phonétique' (L. Roussel 1922: 36).

*Rijksuniversiteit Groningen,
The Netherlands*

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TABLE I (replacement of words)

	children			parents		
	+D	+K	2*	+D	+K	2
<i>xt/kt</i>						
'ktima	2	12	—	1	12	—
'ktiria	—	19	—	—	15	—
'xtistis	20	2	—	9	9	—
a'poktise	4	9	—	3	15	—
'extise	19	5	—	13	10	—
takti'ka	7	7	—	9	7	—
ði'alektos	—	10	—	1	10	—
sindakti'ko	1	17	2	2	13	2
ðiðakti'ka	1	16	—	2	14	—
xaraktiristi'ka	—	20	—	1	15	—
ple'kti	—	7	—	1	10	2
o'xto	17	4	3	11	4	8
ðiktato'ria	1	19	—	3	11	—
	<u>72</u>	<u>147</u>		<u>56</u>	<u>145</u>	
	(33%)			(28%)		
<i>xt/xθ</i>						
xθes	10	12	1	—	19	—
pro'xθes	8	14	—	—	20	—
e'ndaxθike	11	11	—	5	15	—
enda'xθi	4	10	—	2	10	—
ti'lixθike	10	5	—	4	5	—
ðjoxtike	19	4	1	12	6	1
ðjo'xθi	2	2	—	1	1	—
ana'ptiθike	1	23	—	3	14	—
ðia'praxθike	10	12	—	7	12	—
'plextike	14	9	—	8	12	—
ðiðaxtikan	22	—	—	11	7	1
sin'daxθike	15	8	1	6	12	1
a'rmextikan	20	4	—	10	10	—
'ðextike	23	1	—	12	5	—
ðe'xθi	12	2	—	5	12	—
	<u>181</u>	<u>117</u>		<u>86</u>	<u>160</u>	
	(61%)			(35%)		
<i>ft/pt</i>						
e'fta	22	1	1	14	1	8

*2 = both

TABLE I (continued)

	children			parents		
	+ D	+ K	2	+ D	+ K	2
<i>ft/fθ</i>						
episke'fti	14	3	—	5	8	1
'ftani	19	—	—	15	5	—
fti'na	13	10	—	3	17	1
'eftase	18	2	—	10	5	1
'kriftike	22	—	—	18	1	1
kri'fti	12	—	—	9	4	—
ðimosi'eftike	7	3	—	4	3	—
ðimosie'fθi	2	7	—	1	13	—
kata'lifθike	1	8	—	2	9	—
katali'fθi	—	8	—	—	11	—
engata'lifθikan	9	14	—	5	16	—
ka'liftikan	10	12	—	7	12	—
ki'ðeftike	22	1	—	10	7	—
'raftike	23	1	—	14	6	—
'yraftikan	19	1	4	16	2	1
	<u>191</u>	<u>70</u>		<u>119</u>	<u>119</u>	
	(73%)			(50%)		
<i>st/sθ</i>						
mi'sθo	2	15	—	3	11	—
e'sθanome	3	18	—	1	16	—
ekse'tastikan	6	2	—	7	2	—
ekseta'stun	9	1	—	7	4	—
'pistike	10	3	—	10	3	—
	<u>30</u>	<u>39</u>		<u>28</u>	<u>36</u>	
	(43%)			(44%)		
<i>sk/sx</i>						
'eskise	16	1	—	10	3	1
<i>nd/nð</i>						
'andra	21	2	—	20	3	—
ðendra	23	1	—	20	1	—
anðri'ka	8	14	—	8	14	—
'endeka	20	1	3	16	3	3
a'ndrojino	13	3	—	14	2	—
	<u>85</u>	<u>21</u>		<u>78</u>	<u>23</u>	
	(80%)			(74%)		

TABLE II (free conversation)

	children		parents			children		parents	
	+D	+K	+D	+K		+D	+K	+D	+K2
<i>xt/kt</i>					<i>ft/fθ</i>				
'ktima	—	—	—	11	'ftani/'ftaso	9	—	9	1
'ktiria	—	4	—	7	'eftasa	1	—	2	1
'xtistis	1	—	—	—	fti'na	—	1	6	1
'xtizo	15	—	6	16	'lifθike, li'fθi	—	2	—	4
a'poktise	1	1	—	8	'yraftikan	4	—	—	—
takti'ka	1	—	1	4	berðe'fti	—	—	1	—
xara'ktira	—	1	—	8	pro'vleftikan	—	—	1	—
ði'alektos	—	2	3	19	'vaftike	—	—	—	1
sindakti'ko	3	5	4	2	sovare'fθis	—	1	—	—
ðiðakti'ka	—	2	—	—	pandre'fθi	—	—	—	2
o'xto	25	7	24	11	ðiskole'fθi	—	—	—	1
e'ktos	—	9	2	17	ðisko'leftikan	—	—	1	—
'xtipise	7	—	7	1					
i'lektro-	—	23	—	30	<i>st/sθ</i>				
asfikti'ka	1	—	—	1	mi'sθos	—	3	1	3
fri'xto	2	—	—	—	e'sθanome	1	—	—	8
pleo'nektima	1	5	—	—	'esθima	—	2	—	—
prakti'ki	2	1	2	1	ka'lesθites	—	—	—	3
psikti'kos	2	1	—	10	evesθi'sia	—	—	2	—
arxi'tektonas	—	4	—	1	eksasfala'sθi	—	—	—	1
					ekizla'misθikan	—	—	—	1
<i>xt/xθ</i>					anapla'sθun	—	—	—	1
xθes/pro'xθes	—	1	—	16					
ana'ptixθike	—	1	—	8	<i>sk/sx</i>				
ði'ðaxtika	3	—	4	6	'asxima	1	14	4	13
ðiðax'ti	2	1	—	2	sxe'ðon	—	12	2	8
ðe'xti	1	—	1	2	'sxeðia	1	2	—	—
ekseli'xθo	—	1	—	—					
ðiale'xθi	—	2	—	—	<i>nd/nð</i>				
isa'xti	—	—	1	—	ðendra	3	—	5	—
<i>ft/pt</i>					'andras	2	—	17	3
e'fta	18	1	16	1	anðri'ka	—	1	—	—
'skeftome	7	—	10	—	'endeka	4	1	4	2
epi'skeftome	—	—	6	1					
le'pta	—	37	4	15					
γpa'pto	—	9	—	1					

TABLE III (explicit questions about norms)

	Questionnaire II, question 1						Questionnaire II, question 2						Questionnaire I and free speech					
	children			parents			children			parents			children			parents		
	+Δ	+K	2	+Δ	+K	2	+Δ	+K	2	+Δ	+K	2	+Δ	+K	2	+Δ	+K	2
<i>xt/kt</i>																		
'xtistis	21	2	1	13	5	3	12	8	4	7	11	3	20	2	—	9	9	—
'extise	20	2	2	8	5	8	11	9	4	5	11	5	19	5	—	13	10	—
a'pokitise	6	16	2	4	13	4	4	19	1	2	15	4	4	9	—	3	15	—
takti'ka	7	13	4	5	11	5	1	20	3	1	15	5	7	7	—	9	7	—
o'xto	13	4	7	7	8	6	6	12	6	4	12	5	17	4	3	11	4	8
ði'alektos	3	20	1	1	17	3	—	24	—	1	18	2	—	10	—	1	10	—
<i>xt/xθ</i>																		
xθes	3	11	10	—	11	10	2	14	8	2	15	4	10	12	1	—	9	—
en'daxθike	7	10	7	4	12	5	4	15	5	4	15	2	11	11	—	5	15	—
'plextike	18	2	4	9	5	7	16	7	1	6	9	6	14	9	—	8	12	—
ana'ptixθike	3	17	4	2	16	3	4	18	2	2	17	2	1	23	—	3	14	—
ʒjoxtika	14	5	5	14	7	—	11	9	4	8	9	4	19	4	1	12	6	—
ðiða'xtikame	12	4	8	5	11	5	8	12	4	5	13	3	22	—	2	11	7	1
ðe'xti	15	3	6	3	11	7	10	8	6	3	14	4	12	2	—	5	12	—
<i>ft/pt</i>																		
e'fta	10	1	13	11	4	6	3	16	5	3	12	6	22	1	1	14	1	8
'skeftonde	16	1	7	12	5	4	7	9	8	6	11	4						
<i>ft/fθ</i>																		
fθi'na	12	9	3	9	6	6	6	13	5	5	11	5	13	10	—	3	17	1
ðimosie'fθi	9	10	5	3	14	4	5	11	8	2	17	2	2	7	—	1	13	—
'vaftike	24	—	—	18	2	1	21	2	1	15	5	1						
'eftase	17	1	6	8	5	8	12	7	5	4	12	5	18	2	—	10	5	—
<i>st/sθ</i>																		
mi'sθo	—	22	2	—	19	2	—	23	1	—	20	1	2	15	—	2	11	—
e'sθanome	1	22	1	1	20	—	—	22	2	—	20	1	3	18	—	1	16	—
ekse'tastikan	19	1	4	15	3	3	12	5	7	9	6	6	6	2	—	7	2	—
<i>sk/sx</i>																		
'asxima	—	20	4	4	15	2	—	22	2	2	15	4	—	4	1	2	6	1
'eskise	16	1	7	11	3	7	9	9	6	7	7	7	16	1	—	10	3	1
<i>nd/nð</i>																		
'andra	18	5	1	13	3	6	6	13	5	6	12	3	21	2	—	20	3	—
anðri'ka	6	14	4	5	14	2	2	17	5	1	18	2	8	14	—	8	14	—
'endeka	23	—	1	11	5	5	21	1	2	4	13	4	20	1	3	16	3	3
xonðri'ka	8	11	5	5	12	4	7	10	7	3	13	5						

The Serpent Column of Delphi in Constantinople: Placement, Purposes, and Mutilations

THOMAS F. MADDEN

Between the two great obelisks of Istanbul's Atmeidan, rests the battered and truncated remains of one of western civilization's most intriguing and important artifacts: the Serpent Column of Delphi. With its two companions, the ancient bronze pillar marks the spina of the Byzantine hippodrome around which the chariots of the Empire once raced. Today only tour buses make the circuit. The Serpent Column is all the more extraordinary simply by its continued existence. On public display for over 2300 years, it somehow escaped the fires, earthquakes, and lootings which destroyed almost all other Hellenic bronze masterpieces. As one author at the turn of the twentieth century noted, 'Nothing in Constantinople, perhaps in the world, has such a history.'¹ It is not, however, the purpose of this study to present that history, but rather to examine new evidence and make new arguments concerning crucial points in it. More specifically, this article will concentrate on the column's physical state, as well as some local folklore surrounding it, from its removal to Constantinople in the fourth century until its truncation in 1700.²

My sincere thanks to Robert Ousterhout, Donald Queller, Richard Mitchell, and Geoffrey Parker for their kind suggestions and advice. I am particularly grateful to Ronald Jennings, not only for his helpful comments, but also for lending me his expertise in the Turkish language. None of what follows can be blamed on these gentlemen.

1. William Holden Hutten, *The Story of Constantinople* (London 1909) 324.

2. The history of the Serpent Column at Delphi is sufficiently treated elsewhere. See: Otto Frick, 'Das Plataeische Weihgeschenk zu Konstantinopel', *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie* 3. Supplementband, Heft 4 (1857-60) 499-513; P. A. Dethier

The Placing of the Column in the Hippodrome of Constantinople

There is no record of the Serpent Column's removal from Delphi in the early fourth century, but there are numerous references among Roman sources to its arrival on the Bosphorus. Constantine I's importation into the capital of a great many divine and profane statues was an embarrassment to his Christian friends. Eusebius claimed that the emperor collected and displayed the artworks only to demonstrate that the idols of the past were now decoration to be laughed at or scorned.³ Sozomenus and Socrates echoed this in their continuations of Eusebius' *Church History*.⁴ Eusebius did not mention the Serpent Column directly, but rather stated that 'the Delphic tripods were deposited in the Hippodrome.' Sozomenus, however, explicitly recorded that among them was the famous tripod which Pausanias and the Greek cities dedicated after their victory over the Persians.⁵

Although this seems clear enough, there has arisen some disagreement (although little debate) on the date of the placing

and A. D. Mordtmann, 'Epigraphik von Byzantion und Constantinopolis von dem ältesten Zeiten bis zum Jahre Christi 1453', *Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil. Hist. Klasse* 13 (1864) 20-8; Fr. Wiesler, 'Zur sogenannten Schlangensäule in Konstantinopel', *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie* 10 (1864) 242-59; Ernst Fabricus, 'Das platäische Weihgeschenk in Delphi', *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 1 (1886) 176-91; Werner Gauer, 'Weihgeschenke aus den Perserkriegen', in *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, Beiheft 2 (1968) 74-96. A short but good synopsis with full references can also be found in, Arif Mufid Mansel, 'Istanbul'daki "Burmali sütun"', *Belleten. Turk tarih Kurumu* 34 (1970) 189-97.

3. Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, iii, 54; in Ivar Heikel, ed., *Die griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte* (Leipzig 1902) VII, 101.

4. Sozomenus, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ii, 5; *MPG* 67, cols. 945-8; Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, i, 16; *MPG* 67, col. 117; cf. also the western European historian, Landolfus Sagax, *Historia romana*, in *MGH, Auctores antiquissimi*, II, 327.

5. Some confusion is due to what is undoubtedly a later scribal error in Sozomenus' work: 'παύ' was replaced with 'Παύ.' The result is that Sozomenus appears to describe the tripods of Delphi which include the most celebrated *Pan*, which the cities of Greece and Pausanias the Spartan dedicated after their victory. Pierre Gilles, in 1547, knew of the error, *De Topographia Constantinopoleos* (Venice 1561) 90. More recently it has been flagged by J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece* (London 1898) V, 301; see also Migne's gloss, *MPG*, 67, cols. 945-8, n. g; Frick, 'Das Plataeische Weihgeschenk', 514.

of the Serpent Column on the spina of the hippodrome.⁶ On the basis of the 1927 British excavations which found the column not bedded deeply into the native clay, Stanley Casson concluded that it may have been placed in its present position in the late Byzantine period. He based the assertion on literary as well as archaeological evidence.⁷ Harun ibn Yahya, who was in Constantinople between 911 and 913 gave an account of a bronze serpent group which he seems to place either in the Augusteion near Hagia Sophia or, more likely, near the city walls:

At the Imperial Gate there are also four snakes made of brass whose tails are in their mouths as a talisman against snakes that they may not do any harm; a child comes to a snake and takes it, and it does not do him any harm.⁸

Casson, following J. Marquart, states that this 'must certainly be the Serpent Column.'⁹ It is tempting to think so. Not only is it a representation of snakes, but it is also thought to be a talisman against them — something which would be widely believed about the Serpent Column in later centuries. But, as R. M. Dawkins pointed out, ibn Yahya's description is really too different to be the same.¹⁰ Ibn Yahya's serpents have four rather

6. Interestingly, those who accept a fourth century placing of the column seldom acknowledge opposing views. Cf. A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire* (Madison 1952) I, 60; Raymond Janin, *Constantinople byzantine: développement urbain et repertoire topographique* (Paris 2 1964) 191; David Talbot Rice, *Constantinople: From Byzantium to Istanbul* (New York 1965) 21; Michael Maclagen, *The City of Constantinople* (London 1968) 26; Gilbert Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale: Constantinople et ses institutions de 300 à 451* (Paris 1974) 36-7, 306; Richard Krauthheimer, *Three Christian Capitals: Topography and Politics* (Berkeley et al. 1983) 49.

7. Stanley Casson, David Talbot Rice and A. H. M. Jones, *Preliminary Report Upon the Excavations Carried Out in the Hippodrome of Constantinople in 1927* (London 1928) 13.

8. A. A. Vasiliev, 'Harun ibn Yahya and His Description of Constantinople', *Seminarium Kondakovianum* 5 (1932) 161.

9. Casson, *Preliminary Report*, 13; J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge* (Leipzig 1903) 236; cf. George P. Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Washington D.C. 1984) 255, n. 97.

10. R. M. Dawkins, 'Ancient Statues in Mediaeval Constantinople', *Folk-lore* 35 (1924) 234, n. 51.

than three heads, and the tails on the Serpent Column of Delphi could not be farther from the mouths. In short, ibn Yahya's troubled testimony is insufficient to reject the earlier Byzantine authors who place the Serpent Column in the hippodrome.

What the sources do say, perhaps, is not as problematic as what they do not. Before the accounts of Ignatius of Smolensk and the Anonymous Russian, churchmen visiting Constantinople around 1390, there are no surviving clear and specific references to the Serpent Column. We hear of it from Sozemenus in the fifth century and Zosimus in the sixth, but it then drops out of sight until the late fourteenth. This adds fuel to Casson's theory of the column's late placement in the hippodrome.¹¹ But, the silence of late ancient and medieval authors is shaky ground on which to build a thesis. None mention the triumphal arch of Theodosius which spanned the main street of Constantinople, the largest such arch in the Roman world. Its remains still litter Ordu Caddesi today. Indeed, if we were to accept as crucial evidence the silence surrounding the Serpent Column before 1390, we would also have to accept that the pillar was not on display anywhere in the city.

There is, however, one place where the Serpent Column could have escaped notice: the spina of the hippodrome. The barrier was, after all, covered in bronze statuary of many different shapes and sizes — all remarkable works of art yet few specifically mentioned. The best place to hide a tree is always in a forest. As the central divider in the hippodrome, the spina was viewed by most observers from the distance of the stands. This made for descriptions which tended to be more general than specific. Ibn-Yahya wrote, '[There] stand statues made of brass, in the form of horses, men, wild beasts, lions, and the like.'¹² Marvazi,

11. Casson, *Preliminary Report*, 12; cf. J. P. A. Van der Vin, *Travellers to Greece and Constantinople: Ancient Monuments and Old Traditions in Medieval Travellers' Tales* (Leiden 1980) I, 269. Based on travellers' accounts, Van der Vin concludes that the Serpent Column was erected in the early Palaeologan period. This, however, contradicts his misreading of Nicetas Choniates who, he believes, places the Serpent Column in the hippodrome in 1204.

12. Vasiliev, 'Harun-ibn-Yahya', 155.

an Arab naturalist in Constantinople around 1030, described the circus similarly, saying 'In it one sees images and statues in the shape of men, domestic animals, wild beasts and such like things, and it is said that among them there is a statue of Heraclius, the king of Damascus.'¹³ Interestingly, Marvazi was unable to specifically describe a statue he knew to be there. The *Saga of Sigurd*, which describes that king's pilgrimage in 1110 and 1111, said of the hippodrome:

There are many sorts of old events represented . . . in these games [the Hippodrome] and all the figures are cast in copper, or metal, with so great art that they appear to be living things; and to the people it appears as if they were really present in the games.¹⁴

A few decades later, around 1150, the Arab geographer al-Idrisi described the bronze works as representing men, horses, lions, etc., and sculpted with a perfection of nature that it would make the ablest artist despair.¹⁵ The Serpent Column would comfortably fit into any of these descriptions.

We should not be surprised, then, that travellers to Constantinople failed to single out the Serpent Column in their descriptions of the spina. They seldom singled out anything. In their eyes and those of their Byzantine hosts, the Serpent Column was lost in the crowd. Nevertheless, one Arab tourist, al-Harawi, who visited the city between 1160 and 1174, did mention on the spina 'a column of bronze forged in only one casting.'¹⁶ Could this be the Serpent Column? It was likely the only bronze pillar there. Furthermore, the Serpent Column, while it was probably cast in two halves, still hides the secret of their joining. In 1856,

13. V. Minorsky, 'Marvazi on the Byzantines', *Annuaire d'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves* 10(1950) 461.

14. Snorre Sturlason, *Heimskringla: The Norse King Sagas*, trans. Samuel Laing (London — New York 1930) 286. The description of the hippodrome appears to be an addition to the story, not in all manuscripts, and attributed to 'people who have been in Constantinople'.

15. Pierre-Amédée Jaubert, ed. and trans., *La géographie d'Edrisi* (Paris 1836-40, repr. Amsterdam 1975) II, 299.

16. Charles Schefer, 'Aboul Hassan Aly el Herewy: Indications sur les lieux de Pèlerinage', in *Archives de l'orient latin* (Paris 1881) I, 589, and n. 5.

P. A. Dethier examined it closely and was unable to find any evidence of two castings.¹⁷ To my knowledge, no one has found any yet.

The placing of the Delphic column, then, belongs squarely in the fourth, not the fourteenth century. Impoverished and weak, the Palaeologan emperors had neither the resources nor the will to erect ancient bronze monuments on a decaying spina in a ruined hippodrome. But the importation and positioning of this well-known relic fits precisely what we know about Constantine and the founding of his city. Constantinople, despite what Eusebius believed, was not meant to be a new Christian capital of the Roman Empire.¹⁸ Constantine himself, like his city, was both a good Christian and a good pagan. He never renounced his old belief in Sol Invictus and, by association, was also favourable to the worship of Apollo.¹⁹ An emblem of this religious confusion in the imperial mind is apparent in the most conspicuous monument in Constantinople: the great porphyry column which bore the likeness of the city's founder in the raiment of Apollo (yet still bearing an orb and cross).²⁰ This same affinity for solar deities must have influenced the emperor's selection of the Serpent Column. At Delphi it was one of the most celebrated votive offerings to Apollo. When Constantine placed it on the spina the two obelisks had not yet arrived from Egypt, although we may assume that their positions were left vacant in the wall gaps. The Serpent Column was placed equidistant from the future sites of these two giants, framing it between them. Furthermore, Heron of Byzantium's tenth century measurements in the hippodrome suggest that the Serpent Column was placed directly opposite the *Cathisma* or imperial box: precisely the spot Constantine would choose for so important and sacred an object.²¹

17. C. T. Newton, *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant* (London 1865) II, 34.

18. Cyril Mango, *Byzantium: The Empire of New Rome* (New York 1980) 75.

19. See George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, trans. Joan Hussey (New Brunswick, NJ 1969) 46-7, with accompanying references to the debate.

20. *Chronicon Paschale* (Bonn ed.) 528; Malalas (Bonn ed.) 320; Zonaras (Bonn ed.) III, 18. See Dragon, *Naissance d'une capitale*, 40-1.

21. Cyril Mango, 'L'Euripe de l'hippodrome de Constantinople. Essai d'identification', *REB* 7 (1949-50) 185, 187-9.

The Serpent Fountain

Shortly after Constantine's death, the Serpent Column seems to have lost its identity as a holy tripod to Apollo, becoming merely one more beautifully crafted bronze statue. As such, it was soon drafted into new service as a fountain. The spina of Byzantium's hippodrome probably had fountains on it before Constantine arrived. The 1927 excavations found many water pipes criss-crossing the area some dating back to the Severan period.²² At some point after the re-founding of the city more fountains were established. In the case of the Serpent Column as well as the two obelisks, existing monuments were simply transformed into water spectacles.

In 1855, when Newton uncovered the base of the Serpent Column, he also found a water conduit, leading him to conclude that the pillar had once been used as a fountain.²³ The following year part of a lead pipe inscribed with Greek letters was discovered inside the column. The inscription mentioned a city eparch but, unfortunately, did not provide a name.²⁴ Otto Frick suggested that the column's conversion into a fountain occurred during the reign of Valens (364-378), who completed other important water projects in the city.²⁵ P. A. Dethier and A. D. Mordtmann later asserted that the eparch on the pipe was Proclus, the same official responsible for the erection of the nearby Obelisk of Theodosius I in 490, which was also converted into a fountain.²⁶ Based on the 1927 excavations, Casson (who ignored the lead pipe) asserted that the main water conduit lacked 'the appearance of high

22. Casson, *Preliminary Report*, 25-6.

23. Newton, *Travels and Discoveries*, II, 27-8.

24. '... ΑΓ... ΑΤΩΝΙΑΤΡΙΚΙΟΝΚΕΠΑΡΧΟΝΤΩΝ', Frick, 'Das Plataeische Weihgeschenk', 550; Dethier and Mordtmann, 'Epigraphik von Byzantion und Constantinopolis', 5.

25. Frick, 'Das Plataeische Weihgeschenk', 551.

26. Dethier and Mordtmann, 'Epigraphik von Byzantion und Constantinopolis', 28. This reasoning assumes that the placing of the obelisk on the Theodosian base and its conversion into a fountain were contemporary events. This was probably not the case, but it could not have been undertaken too much later. Friedrich Krauss, 'Die Aufnahme und Darstellung des Obelisken und seines Unterbaues', *Istanbuler Forschungen* 7 (1935) 85-6.

antiquity' and, therefore, relegated the fountain conversion to the late Byzantine period.²⁷ But the fifth century is hardly 'high antiquity' and the Palaeologan period is positively early modern. The hard evidence of the lead pipe, then, seems more convincing than Casson's archaeological impressions.

There are no surviving eyewitness accounts of the column as a fountain, but a few later visitors were told that it had once been one: notably, Cristoforo Buondelmonti in ca. 1420 and Pero Tafur in 1437. On the basis of these testimonies George Majeska concluded that the column was converted into a fountain sometime between the visit of Clavijo in 1403, who makes no mention of the column as a fountain, and the visit of Buondelmonti in 1420 'who was the first to call the serpent column a fountain.'²⁸ Majeska fails to point out, though, that the Russian Zosima the Deacon, who was in Constantinople sometime between 1419 and 1422, also says nothing about the Serpent Column being a fountain. According to this thesis, then, the serpents' mouths could not have spewed water for more than nineteen years (1403 to 1422). The error lies in the reading of Buondelmonti. The Florentine did not witness the Serpent Column as a fountain. Rather, he was told by the Byzantines that in the 'tournament days' water, wine, and milk flowed from the three heads.²⁹ This may refer to the years of the Latin Empire when the western knights jousted there, or to the earlier period of Byzantine games, or, more likely, to both. Likewise, Tafur, whose guide was the future emperor Constantine XI, was told the story of the wine and milk, but remarked that 'no one can remember this, and it seems to me that too much credit must not be attached to the story.'³⁰ The fantastic tale, therefore, represented a

27. Casson, *Preliminary Report*, 13.

28. Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople*, 256. This is a very well informed and extremely handy work which replaces the Khitrowo translation.

29. 'diebus iustratilibus' or 'diebus astiludialibus'. Giuseppe Gerola, 'Le Vedute di Costantinopoli di Cristoforo Buondelmonti', *Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 3 (1931) 274-5.

30. Pero Tafur, *Travels and Adventures, 1435-1439*, ed. and trans. Malcolm Letts (New York — London 1926) 143.

popular memory of the column's function in former 'tournament days,' although, as Tafur noted, no one still alive in 1437 could remember seeing it.³¹

The exact date of the Serpent Column's conversion may never be known, but we can narrow it down somewhat. It would not have occurred under Constantine, who, if nothing else, would have been less than enthusiastic about offending the sizeable number of pagans still in the city. By the time of Theodosius I, however, pagans were a tiny minority and even they, as we shall see, were probably unaware that the twisting serpents constituted a sacred object. Based on this, the physical evidence, and the evidence of later travelers' accounts, the late fifth century seems the most likely date for the hook up of the column to the hippodrome conduit.

The Serpent Column has no inscription describing what it is and why it was crafted. Only the names of the Greek cities who fought together in the Persian War are etched on it, and those rather faintly and only on the lowest coils. Without this identification, it seems that even the most educated citizens of medieval Constantinople forgot what it was. After its conversion into a fountain, the column was viewed, not as a sacred tripod base but, quite logically, as a fountain in the form of three serpents. This is especially clear in the pagan historian Zosimus' *New History*, written in the early sixth century. Describing Constantine's beautification projects, he wrote, 'He even placed somewhere in the hippodrome the tripod of Delphic Apollo, which had on it the very image of Apollo.'³² This suggests two things: Zosimus

31. The story had a long lifespan. Jean Carlier de Pinon heard it in 1579; cited from the MS by Félix Bourquelot, 'La Colonne serpentine à Constantinople', *Memoires de la Société impériale des antiquaires de France* 28 (1865) 34. In the late nineteenth century there still existed a popular story of a fountain crafted by Leo the Wise which continually decanted wine. When the Turks took the city, it was said, they destroyed the fountain but investigated its interior. There they found a bunch of grapes, one of which was only half squeezed. Had the conquerors not destroyed the talisman, the story continued, it would have provided wine until the end of the world. Henry Carnoy and Jean Nicolaidès, *Folklore de Constantinople* (Paris 1894) 12-3.

32. Zosimus (Bonn ed.) 97; English translation: Ronald R. Ridley, ed. and trans., *Zosimus* (Canberra 1982) 38.

was misinformed about the appearance of this tripod, and he did not know where it was. He knew, because he had read, that Constantine placed the famous relic in the hippodrome, but he was unable to identify it. Later Byzantine authors did no better. Codinus in the eleventh century and Nicephoras Callistus in the fourteenth affirmed that Constantine brought the famous tripod to New Rome and placed it in the hippodrome, but they neither gave its specific location nor even described it.³³

In the Ruins: 1204-1453

Perhaps the greatest enigma surrounding the Serpent Column is its survival of the crusader sack of 1204. It was one of the very few bronzes on the spina which was not either melted down for coin or taken to the West.³⁴ Why? It has been asserted that the crusaders were told that it was a powerful talisman which kept snakes and other vermin from engulfing the city. A superstitious lot, the crusaders left the monument untouched.³⁵ But if this were so, the crusaders would have spared the mosquitos and storks and other bronze wildlife which also provided essential magical protection.³⁶ No amount of folklore could save those.

Before 1204 the Serpent Column was probably not regarded as a talisman against snakes. A bronze eagle and serpent which neighboured the Serpent Column provided that protection, and

33. Codinus, *De Signis* (Bonn ed.) 55; Nicephoras Callistus, *Ecclesiasticae Historiae* MPG 146, col. 124.

34. The crusaders did spare other bronze statues on the spina. Pero Tafur saw one in 1437 which lacked a hand. It was believed to have formerly been a magical judge of fair prices. Letts, trans., 143.

35. Stanley Casson and David Talbot Rice, *Second Report Upon the Excavations Carried Out in the Hippodrome of Constantinople in 1928* (London 1929) 3.

36. Malalas (Bonn ed.) 264-6; George Cedrenus, *Historiarum compendium* (Bonn ed.), 431; *De Antiquitabus Constantinopolitanis*, MPG 122, col. 1245; *Patria Constantinoupoleos*, in Th. Preger, ed., *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum* (Leipzig 1907) II, sec. 200, 278. Cyril Mango, 'Antique Statuary and the Byzantine Beholder', *DOP* 17 (1963) 61. See also, W. L. Dulière, 'Protection permanente contre des animaux nuisibles assurée par Apollônios de Tyanae dans Byzance et Antioche, Evolution de son mythe', *BZ* 63 (1970) 247-77.

it was tossed into the pots without hesitation.³⁷ We can get a clue as to why the column was spared from the testimony of the Frankish crusader Robert de Clari, who was one of the last to see the spina before its destruction. The bronze statuary, he reported, 'used to play by enchantment, but they do not play any longer.'³⁸ The story, which Clari was undoubtedly told, is similar to the description of the spina given in the *Saga of Sigurd*, a century earlier. There the bronzes 'appear to be living things; and to the people it appears as if they were really present in the games.'³⁹ To the Frankish crusaders in 1204, the bronze sculptures were simply empty shells, devoid of their former power of animation. As coin, they would be put to good use. But the Serpent Column was another matter. It was not an obsolete or run-down toy. On the contrary, it was a perfectly functional fountain, providing water not only for the celebrants in the melting party, but also, perhaps, for the jousts who would later frequent the area. In fact, for knightly tournaments it was ideal. With its heads pouring water from a height of approximately eighteen feet, it allowed a rider to drink or douse himself while remaining mounted.⁴⁰ Therefore, the Serpent Column was spared by the Frankish knights because, unlike the rest of the artwork on the spina, it was useful to them just as it was.

How long after 1204 the Serpent Column continued to provide

37. Nicetas Choniates, *De signis* (Bonn ed.) 861-3. Another bronze group, this one depicting storks, was similarly thought to repel serpents. *Patria* (ed. Preger) I, sec. 23-5, 10-1; cf. Gilbert Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire, études sur le recueil des 'Patria'* (Paris 1984) 108-9. With some modifications, this story was amazingly resilient, surviving many centuries after the bronze storks were lost. It is mentioned by Evliya Effendi in the seventeenth century and was still current in the late nineteenth century as well. Evliya Effendi, *Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa in the Seventeenth Century*, trans. Joseph von Hammer (London 1834) 17; Carnoy and Nicolaidès, *Folklore de Constantinople*, 23-5.

38. Robert de Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Philippe Lauer (Paris 1924) 88; English translation: Edgar Holmes McNeal, *The Conquest of Constantinople* (New York 1936) 109-10.

39. *Heimskringla*, trans. Laing, 286.

40. On the column's height: Dethier and Mordtmann, 'Epigraphik von Byzantion und Constantinopolis', 6 and n. 1.

water is a difficult question. Presumably, until a malfunction somewhere in the supply system required maintenance. There were other working fountains nearby, as well as large cisterns from which fresh water could be acquired.⁴¹ There was no reason to spend precious resources on the repair of a convenient but unnecessary fountain. It probably continued to function during much of the Latin Empire and perhaps greeted the restored Byzantine emperors, but it could scarcely have lasted much longer than that. In any case it had certainly run dry long before the fifteenth century when Buondelmonti and Tafur heard of it dispensing water, wine, and milk in out of memory 'tournament days.'

In a greatly depopulated city, the ruined hippodrome became an open area for impromptu gaming, markets, and meetings.⁴² Thus, the people of the city had the opportunity to become more familiar with the remaining monuments on the old spina. As one of the few bronze sculptures left, the Serpent Column began to attract enough attention to justify specific descriptions of it. The first two, both around 1390, provide glimpses into the evolving folklore surrounding the column. The Anonymous Russian was told that the column turned three times a year.⁴³ Ignatius of Smolensk heard that it was filled with snake venom.⁴⁴ Byzantines had long believed that magical properties were bestowed on statues by placing some item with special significance inside.⁴⁵ Another Russian visitor, Alexander the Clerk, confirms that this belief held on until 1395. He was told that Leo the Wise was responsible for putting the poison inside the bronze.⁴⁶

41. The Anonymous Russian in ca. 1390 (ed. Majeska, 144) mentioned a working fountain in the hippodrome after describing the Serpent Column and Obelisk of Theodosius. From the description and his movement through the hippodrome, the fountain was probably somewhere near the current fountain of Wilhelm II, although more in the direction of Hagia Sophia.

42. Ph. Koukoules, *Βυζαντινὸν βίος καὶ πολιτισμὸς* (Athens 1949) III, 13.

43. Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 144.

44. *Ibid.*, 92.

45. Mango, 'Antique Statuary', 61.

46. Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 164.

Neither Ignatius nor Alexander, though, described what powers the Serpent Column possessed as a result of the venom.

Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo, a Spanish ambassador to Tamerlane who was in Constantinople in October 1403, provides a clearer picture of the column's role as a talisman:

They say that these figures of serpents were set up here to serve for an enchantment, because that in times past there was a plague of serpents and other noisome reptiles who killed many people by their venom. Then a certain Emperor living at that age caused by means of this figure an enchantment to be effected, whereby forthwith and ever after in Constantinople no serpent could harm any one.⁴⁷

Zosima the Deacon, who was there about twenty years later, gives an interesting variation on this same theme:

Next to [the obelisk] stands a column of [strands of] brass twisted together with three asp heads. Serpent venom is sealed in them, and if anyone is stung by a snake inside the city and he touches this, he is cured. But if it is outside the city there is no cure.⁴⁸

By virtue of the sealed venom, then, the column was believed to prevent poisonous snakes from harming people or to provide a cure for those who were bitten within the city walls. In both cases, the monument was a talisman against poisonous snakes.

The First Mutilation: a Lost Jaw

At some point in the early centuries of Ottoman Constantinople, one of the serpent heads lost a lower jaw. It is certain that Mehmed II was not responsible, although he was later (even recently) blamed for it.⁴⁹ Giovanni-Maria Angiolello, who wrote a history of the entry of the Sultan sometime after 1470, stated that Mehmed even ordered a mulberry tree growing near or perhaps inside the Serpent Column to be destroyed lest it damage the

47. F. López Estrada, ed., *Embajada a Tamerlán* (Madrid 1943) 43; English translation: Guy le Strange, trans., *Embassy to Tamerlane, 1403-1406* (London 1928) 71.

48. Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 184.

49. Cf. William Gordon Holmes, *The Age of Justinian and Theodora* (London 1912) I, 64, n. 3; Casson, *Second Report*, 1-4; Mango, 'Antique Statuary', 75, n. 119.

pillar.⁵⁰ The *Anonymous Chronicles*, a Turkish record of the conquest with a description of the newly won city written ca. 1490, mentioned the column as one of Constantinople's important talismans, but reported no damage.⁵¹

A. M. Mansel sees the missing jaw in the well-known depiction of Suleiman I's progress through the hippodrome made in 1533 by Pieter Koeck van Aalst⁵² (Plate 1). A careful examination of the drawing's detail does reveal one serpent head with a lower jaw somewhat shorter than the other. But both visible lower jaws in the woodcut are too short, and the difference between them is so tiny that it does not seem purposeful. Indeed, this beautiful rendition of the area is hardly known for its attention to detail. Few landmarks in the background are in their correct places. The Obelisk of Theodosius is covered with fanciful hieroglyphics, its base with Hellenic scenes. The four bronze cubes which support the obelisk are also transformed by van Aalst into ornamental and stylized pedestals. The list of inaccuracies goes on and on. The real cause of the abbreviated lower left jaw in the picture probably lies in the wood-cutting process itself. The lower right jaw has a backdrop of a sloping pediment, allowing it to be cut parallel to the background lines. The left 'shortened' jaw, however, is perpendicular to its vertical background lines, one of which seems to abruptly cut it off. Van Aalst was not even responsible for the woodcut. It was made in Antwerp from sketches he sent to his wife.⁵³ We must, therefore, not read too much into an exceptionally small detail in a work which, quite obviously, was not meant to be minutely scrutinized. Van Aalst's interest was Suleiman, not the Serpent Column.

50. Jean Reinhard, ed., *Essai sur J.-M. Angiolello* (Angers 1913) edition p. 49.

51. Friedrich Giese, ed. and trans., *Die altosmanischen anonymen Chroniken* (Leipzig 1925) I, 90; II, 120.

52. Mansel, 'Istanbul'daki "Burmali sütun," ' 202-3; res. 20; the complete engraving can be found in, Th. Weigand, 'Der Hippodrom von Konstantinopel zur Zeit Suleimans d. Gr.', *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 23 (1908) 1-11; tafel 1.

53. Carel van Mander, *Schilderboeck* (1604), English trans: Constant van de Wall, *Dutch and Flemish Painters* (New York 1936) 73-5.

Another depiction of the hippodrome was made a few years after van Aalst's. In 1537 the Ottoman scientist, historian, and geographer, Nasuh as-Silahi al-Matraki sketched Constantinople in his *Mecmu'i-Menazil* or *Compilation of the Halting Places of Sultan Suleiman's Campaign in the Two Iraqs* (Plate 2). Although somewhat stylized, al-Matraki's miniatures are known for their accuracy and attention to detail.⁵⁴ The Serpent Column appears in the drawing set between the two obelisks and two other now lost columns. The three serpents' heads are depicted with their mouths wide open, intact jaws, and protruding tongues. This beautiful colour drawing is the earliest known Turkish depiction of the Serpent Column and the only one made before one lower jaw was definitely lost. There is no evident damage to the column in this 1537 picture.

Later western travellers to Constantinople in the first half of the sixteenth century failed to remark on any mutilation of the bronze. The Anonymous Venetian in 1543,⁵⁵ Jerome Maurand in 1544,⁵⁶ and Jean Chesneau in 1547.⁵⁷ described the Serpent Column but reported no damage to it. The French humanist Pierre Gilles made detailed observations and meticulous measurements of Byzantine monuments in Constantinople in 1547 and 1548. He carefully described the Serpent Column, its Greek history, and the Byzantine sources for its placement in the hippodrome. Gilles was especially angered by the local Greeks' ignorance of the monument's past and their insistence that it was a magical talisman.⁵⁸ But, he made no mention of any damage to the

54. Albert Gabriel, 'Les Etapes d'une campagne dans les Deux Irak d'après un manuscrit turc du XVI^e siècle', *Syria* 9 (1928) 328-49; Walter B. Denney, 'A Sixteenth-Century Architectural Plan of Istanbul', *Ars Orientalis* 8 (1970) 49-63; Norman J. Johnston, 'The Urban World of the Matraki Manuscript', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 30 (1971) 159-76.

55. *Viaggi fatti da Vinetia, alla Tana, in Persia, in India, et in Costantinopoli* (Venice 1545) 119v.

56. Leon Dorez, ed., *Itinéraire de Jérôme Maurand d'Antibes à Constantinople* (Paris 1901) 228. See also the very inaccurate sketch of the Serpent Column, pl. XVII.

57. Jean Chesneau, *Le Voyage de M. d'Aramon, ambassadeur pour le Roy en Levant*, ed. Charles Schefer (Paris 1887; repr. Geneva 1970) 30.

58. Gilles, *De Topographie Constantinopoleos*, 90-1.

Serpent Column. André Thevet, who described Constantinople between 1549 and 1552, devoted few words to the bronze but did provide an interesting, if fantastic, drawing of it. He, too, recorded no defect.⁵⁹ The German traveller, Hans Dernschwam, who saw the artifact in 1554, gave a more complete description of it and its surrounding folklore. He also described all three heads still intact.⁶⁰

The first European author to mention the damage to the column was Philippe du Fresne-Canaye, who saw it in 1573. He stated that the bottom jaw of one of the heads had been knocked off by Suleiman I (1520-1566) with his mace.⁶¹ His observation is confirmed by the Freshfield sketch rendered the following year⁶² and the 1578 testimony of the learned chaplain Salomon Schweigger, who was told that Mehmed II was responsible for the lost jaw.⁶³ Putting all of this together, we can conclude that the Serpent Column must have been damaged sometime between 1554 and 1573.

Since the Ottomans outlawed the printing press, Turkish literary sources for the first mutilation are more problematic. Later copyists could amend or correct descriptions which were no longer accurate. Casson, in the 1928 second report on the British excavations in Constantinople, published a miniature and text dealing with the Serpent Column from the *Humer-name* or *Book of Skills*.⁶⁴ Casson dated it to 1575 but it has since been redated

59. André Thevet, *Cosmographie de Levant* (Lyon 1554; repr. Geneva 1985) [ed. Frank Lestringant] 64.

60. Hans Dernschwam, *Tagebuch einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien (1553/55)*, ed. Franz Babinger (Munich — Leipzig 1923) (*Studien zur Fuggergeschichte*, 7) 100.

61. Philippe du Fresne-Canaye, *Le Voyage du Levant*, ed. M. H. Hauser (Paris 1897) 102, 255.

62. See pp. 00-00 infra.

63. Salomon Schweigger, *Ein neue Reyssbeschreibung auss Teutschland nach Constantinopel und Jerusalem* (Nuremberg 1608; repr. Graz 1964) 124; Schweigger also provides an interesting drawing of the column showing damage to one jaw, 123; cf. also the map, 102, fig. A.

64. Casson, *Second Report*, 1-4.

by V. L. Ménage to 1584.⁶⁵ The book was a collection of the impressive exploits of previous sultans. For Mehmed II, it relates how the sultan hurled his mace at the idolatrous serpents, thus breaking off one lower jaw. Before he was able to destroy the remainder of the talisman, however, the patriarch warned him that 'in the event of its destruction it is most probable that the city will be devastated by an invasion of serpents.' Mehmed, therefore, prudently ceased his iconoclasm, and the city was saved from disaster.⁶⁶ The story is, of course, false. We have already seen that no western sources mention any damage until 1573, over a century after Mehmed's conquest. Furthermore, as Ménage has pointed out, the *Book of Skills* is filled with fanciful displays of sultans' dexterity and valour.⁶⁷ Although not a sobre source, the story does confirm the loss of one jaw by 1584 and fleshes out Schweigger's story of 1578.

Ménage brought to light an earlier Ottoman work, the *History of the Ottoman House* written around 1512 by Kemal-Pashazade.⁶⁸ After describing Mehmed II's victory in 1453, the document presents a brief history and description of Constantinople largely drawn from the earlier *Anonymous Chronicles*:

He [Constantine] caused to be made that bronze statue in the Hippodrome which is the representation of three serpents twined together, and by making and designing that talisman he stopped up the source of the mischief of snakes, whose poison is fatal to life.

[Turkish couplet:]

The snakes departed so that none was left there,
and those that remained became harmless.

The narrator says: Before this talisman (a rarity of the age, designed on a wondrous plan) was made, it was impossible to walk in those regions for poisonous snakes. This strange fact too is reported: they say that when the

65. V. L. Ménage, 'The Serpent Column in Ottoman Sources', *Anatolian Studies* 14 (1964) 170.

66. Casson, *Second Report* 1.

67. Ménage, 'Serpent Column', 170.

68. On this author, see V. L. Ménage, s.v. 'Kemal Pasha-zade', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition, IV.

bodies of those snakes (of which the jaw of one has now fallen off) were complete, no snakes were to be seen in the city.⁶⁹

Based on this new evidence Ménage concludes that by 1512 one jaw was missing.

But, there are problems with this testimony. The surviving manuscript which Ménage relies on is, he says, 'late'. How late he does not say, but presumably after the jaw was widely reported as missing. Ménage brushes this aside, stating that 'there is no likelihood that the latter part of the passage is a later interpolation: it is composed in the elaborate rhyming prose . . . characteristic of [Kemal-Pashazade's] style.'⁷⁰ Stylistic considerations aside, there is no support for this statement in other sources. None of the western visitors between 1512 and 1573 note the loss of a serpent's jaw. The al-Matraki miniature of 1537 also fails to suggest any damage to the statue. If a jaw was indeed missing as early as 1512, how could so many have missed it? The text itself also presents certain logical problems. The first section gives the standard late Byzantine legend about the column: 'stopped up' inside was poison which, the Turkish couplet states, made the poisonous serpents flee and those that remained unable to harm people. This is simply a paraphrasing of the *Anonymous Chronicles*. The first sentence of the second section, which is the 1512 addition of Kemal-Pashazade, is also closely aligned with the earlier Byzantine beliefs: before the talisman was crafted there were multitudes of poisonous snakes in the city.⁷¹ It is important to note, that neither the synopsis of the *Anonymous Chronicles*, nor the first part of Kemal-Pashazade's addition suggest that *all* serpents were driven from the city when Constantine built the talisman — only the poisonous ones. This was always the legend since non-poisonous snakes were fairly common in Constan-

69. The original text with this translation from Ménage, 'Serpent Column', 171.

70. Ibid., 171, n. 17.

71. Ménage identifies only the last sentence as Kemal-Pashazade's comment, based on the fact that it is the only sentence which adds something new to the story from the *Anonymous Chronicles*. The reasoning is circular. The author's own comments, one would think, would follow the phrase 'The narrator says:'.

tinople.⁷² But the last sentence of Kemal-Pashazade's addition states something quite different: 'when the bodies of these snakes . . . were complete, *no* snakes were to be seen in the city.' In other words, from the time of Constantine until the loss of the lower jaw, Constantinople was completely free of all serpents, not just poisonous ones. This indeed became the legend of the column after 1573 but it was, quite obviously, not held before. The addition by Kemal-Pashazade, then, is self-contradictory. The first and second sentences appear to have been written in different times when different things were believed about the Serpent Column. It makes sense, then, to assume that the remark about the loss of the jaw is not the work of Kemal-Pashazade, but is instead either a later addition or alteration to the 1512 work.

One Ottoman literary source did make it to the printing press. In 1550 an imperial agent of Ferdinand II brought to the West a copy of an Ottoman history. The emperor ordered his Turkish interpreter to translate the work into German; but the history, a version of the *Anonymous Chronicles* of 1490, was not published. In 1586, the German humanist Johann Löwenklau (Leunclavius) was asked to translate the German manuscript into Latin, which was published for the first time in 1588.⁷³ Unlike the *Anonymous Chronicles*, but very like the *Huner-name* of 1584, the *Annales Sultanorum Othmanidarum* (as Löwenklau named them) relate Mehmed II's triumphant entry into the hippodrome

72. The snake problem in this period is illustrated by the exploits of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, who was in Constantinople in 1555 and 1556. Discussing his lodgings near the Column of Constantine (not far from the hippodrome) Busbecq noted, 'it swarms with different kinds of vermin, such as weasels, snakes, lizards, and scorpions. Sometimes when a man goes to fetch his hat in the morning, he has the unpleasant surprise of finding a snake coiled round it.' Unfortunate snakes, in fact, provided the neglected German ambassador with considerable entertainment. He was fond of staging fights between snakes and weasels, and was especially intrigued by the mechanics of the snakes' ingestion of mice and frogs. Charles T. Forster and F. H. B. Daniell, *The Life and Letters of Ogier de Busbecq* (London 1881) I, 203-4.

73. Joannis Leunclavius, *Annales Sultanorum Othmanidarum* (repr. in *MPG* 159; repr. Frankfurt 1596); also translated back into German in *Neuwe Chronica Turckischer Nation* (Frankfurt 1595).

74. Leunclavius, *Annales*, *MPG*, 159, col. 612.

and his mutilation of the Serpent Column with his mace. They affirm that before the loss of the one lower jaw Constantinople was free of all serpents, but since the damage harmless ones had begun to appear.⁷⁴ Ménage points out that the *Annales* are a close translation of the *Anonymous Chronicles* in all aspects but one — this passage dealing with the broken jaw.⁷⁵ It is almost certainly Löwenklau's own addition. He had been to Constantinople in 1584/5 and probably heard there the popular story of Mehmed II's mutilation of the column.⁷⁶ Unfortunately, Löwenklau did not see his work on the *Annales* as mere translation. With the help of someone who knew Turkish, he spent several days comparing the German translation with the original manuscript, and appears to have made corrections. He added Christian years to the text and also wrote in his own 'Annales' for the years 1550 to 1588. The fact that the column's lost jaw appears in no other recension of the *Anonymous Chronicles*, coupled with Löwenklau's desire to update the work, suggests that he added a story which he either heard in 1585 or read in any of the descriptions of Constantinople in print at that time.

We are still left then with the testimony of the al-Matraki miniature and European observers, who narrow down the loss of the lower jaw to sometime between 1554 and 1573. Unless further reliable sources come to light, we will likely remain unable to close that nineteen year gap. Who was responsible? The first westerner to record the missing jaw, Philippe du Fresne-Canaye, was also the last to blame Suleiman I. For the next century, as we have seen, Europeans were usually told by Turkish dragomans and Greek inhabitants that Mehmed II knocked the bottom jaw

75. Ménage, 'Serpent Column', 170, n. 11, who seems to attribute the Turkish translation to Löwenklau. It was the work of John Gaudier.

76. Leunclavius, *Pandectes historiae Turcicae*, MPG 159, col. 820; the *Pandectes* are included in all editions of the *Annales*. See also, Dieter Metzler, s.v. 'Löwenklau', *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, v. 15.

from the column in 1453.⁷⁷ Beginning around 1675, the culprit switched to Murat IV (1623-1640) who retained the infamy until the column's truncation in 1700.⁷⁸ Among Ottoman writers there seems to be little agreement on the subject. The *Huner-name* (1584) accused Mehmed II but the Kemal-Pashazade manuscript blamed no one, saying the jaw simply fell off. Ali, who described the jaw loss around 1600, named the Grand Vizier Ibrahim Pasha (d. 1536) as the responsible party, but cast the event as an accident of *djerid*.⁷⁹ Evliya Effendi, writing in 1634, stated that Selim II was responsible for the vandalism.⁸⁰ Ottoman scholars and European visitors may not have heard their stories from the same sources.

In spite of all these indictments of illustrious men, there is little reason to believe that any of them were responsible for breaking the column's jaw. None of the authors who apportion blame do so as eyewitnesses or even contemporaries. The Serpent Column's prominent position in Turkish and Greek folklore argues against a malicious or playful destruction of the talisman. The bronze image, after all, had been consciously preserved to avoid the infestations its destruction would cause. There are then two likely possibilities: either the jaw fell off, as the Kemal-Pashazade manuscript states, or it was accidentally struck off, as Ali's history claims. The former, while possible, seems unlikely. No observers before 1573 remark on any structural weaknesses or cracks in

77. In 1578: Schweigger, *Reyssbeschreibung*, 124; in 1585: Leunclavius, *Pandectes*, MPG 159, col. 820; in 1655, M. de Thévenot, *Relations d'un voyage fait au Levant* (Paris 1665) IV, 41-2, cited from Bourquelot, 'Colonne serpentine', 42; in 1672: Laurent d'Arvieux, *Mémoires du chevalier d'Arvieux, envoyé extraordinaire du Roy, à la Porte, Consul d'Alep, d'Alger, de Tripoli, & autres Echelles du Levant* (Paris 1734) IV, 467-8. Johann Wild, in 1604, and Evliya Effendi, in 1634, blamed Selim II for the broken jaw: Johann Wild, *Reysbeschreibung eines Gefangen Christen Anno 1604*, ed. Georg A. Narciss (Stuttgart 1964) 332; Evliya Effendi, ed. von Hammer, 19.

78. In 1675: Jacob Spon and George Wheeler, *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Greece, et du Levant, Fait aux années 1675 & 1676*. (Amsterdam 1679) I, 178; in 1678: Cornelius de Bruyn, *Voyage du Levant* (Delft 1700) 52; in 1690: Jean Du Mont, *Nouveau voyage du Levant* (The Hague 1694) 173.

79. Ménage, 'Serpent Column', 171, n. 20.

80. Evliya Effendi, *Narrative of Travels*, trans. von Hammer, 19.

the bronze. Even if the ancient metal was weakened, it would be odd for a lower jaw to break rather than a neck, which supported the weight of an entire outstretched head.

An accidental mutilation seems more plausible. The Atmeidan was a very busy place, playing host to a number of daily events like juggling, wrestling, animal shows, obelisk climbing, etc.⁸¹ But even more potentially dangerous to the ancient bronze was the equestrian sport of *djerid*. An ancient Turcoman game, *djerid* enjoyed great popularity in Constantinople's hippodrome as early as the Paleologan period when it replaced Frankish tournaments.⁸² In the game, mounted players charged and threw large oaken poles at one another. Without doubt the Serpent Column was occasionally hit by these projectiles, and could well have sustained some damage. Indeed, considering the violence of the sport, it is surprising that the serpents lost only the one jaw.⁸³

The Freshfield Sketch: 1574

In 1574 one of the most reliable drawings of the complete Serpent Column was made. Executing pictures of city landmarks was not allowed in Istanbul for religious, economic, and strategic reasons. Europeans who wished to provide illustrations for their books were forced to sketch from memory, sometimes years later. The results were disappointing. Happily, there was one exception: an anonymous German artist in 1574 made twenty-one colour sketches from life of various sights in the capital city. How or why he did so remains a mystery. Nevertheless, with the exception of some drawings of the interior of Hagia Sophia, the sketches are amazingly accurate.

81. Cf. Gilles, *De Topographie Constantinopoleos*, 89; Wenceslas Wratislaw, *Adventures of Baron Wenceslas Wratislaw of Mitrowitz*, trans. A. H. Wratislaw (London 1862) 70-1.

82. V. J. Parry, s.v. 'Djerid', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition, II.

83. The game is now played only in exhibitions. For excellent photos of the fast-paced sport see Feyzi Halıcı and Zeynel Yeşilay, 'Jereed: A Game of Skill of Men and Horses', *Image of Turkey* 9 (1987) 14-7.

The manuscript drawings, bound in a vellum covered album, found their way into the library of E. Freshfield before 1900 and, at his death, passed to his son, Edwin H. Freshfield. From this album the younger Freshfield published in 1922 the very detailed drawings of the relief-covered (and now lost) Column of Arcadius⁸⁴ and, in 1930, a drawing of the hippodrome showing the two obelisks, Serpent Column, and Hagia Sophia.⁸⁵ In 1935, Freshfield presented the sketches to the library of Trinity College, Cambridge where they still remain. Thirty years later, Mango blew the dust from this neglected source, publishing a revised list of its contents as well as its sketches of the Column of Constantine, the Bosphorus lighthouse at the Black Sea, and the so-called Pompey's Pillar.⁸⁶

The Serpent Column appears twice in the Freshfield album. In the hippodrome sketch, published in 1930, it is situated between the two obelisks. Although there is some repositioning of the landscape and proportions in this drawing, the monuments themselves are realistically executed. To my knowledge, this and the four other very detailed sketches of the obelisk in the album (pp. 2-5) are the only drawings of the Egyptian monolith before the nineteenth century which accurately record the hieroglyphics. The depiction of the Serpent Column must be equally exact. The German artist also sketched a more detailed drawing of the Serpent Column alone, which is on page 6 of the Freshfield album. Until now, it has escaped publication.

The illustration provides interesting new detail (Plate 3).⁸⁷ The jaw on the left head is clearly missing, confirming Philippe du

84. Edwin H. Freshfield, 'Notes on a Vellum Album, containing some original sketches of public buildings and monuments, drawn by a German artist who visited Constantinople in 1574', *Archaeologia* 72 (1921-2) 87-104, pls. XV-XXIII.

85. Edwin H. Freshfield, 'Some Sketches Made in Constantinople in 1574', *BZ* 30 (1929-30) 519-22, Tafel II, incorrectly captioned 'The Hippodrome at Constantinople looking North East'. It should read southeast.

86. Cyril Mango, 'Constantinopolitana', *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 80 (1965) 305-15, figs. 1, 4, 5.

87. Reproduction by permission of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge. (ms. O. 17.2, f.6).

Fresne-Canaye's testimony of the previous year. The shape of the heads also closely resembles the still extant fragment, especially the rounded eyes, close nostrils and teeth.⁸⁸ The artist does, however, place the eyes a little too far back on the heads and also fails to draw teeth on the upper jaw as far back as they are evident on the fragment. Interestingly, the snakes are depicted with tongues, confirming the veracity of al-Matraki's drawings of the column in 1537. There is also a ridge of spikes visible along the bottom jaws of the two undamaged heads.

It is difficult to tell which direction the artist was facing when he sketched the Serpent Column since there is no background. In the smaller, less detailed sketch of the column in the illustration of the hippodrome, the attitude of the heads and the hole in the lowest coils are identical to this larger drawing. This suggests that the artist was facing southeast, since the Obelisk of Theodosius as well as the rest of the hippodrome was drawn facing that direction. If so, however, the damaged serpent head faces north: something which contradicts Evliya Effendi and most Turkish miniatures, who maintain that the head with the missing jaw faced west. It seems more likely, then, that the artist drew the Serpent Column while facing northeast, along the line of the spina. It may be that he made the detailed drawings of the Egyptian obelisk (pp. 2-5), the Serpent Column (p. 6), and the colossus (p. 7) first, and only later combined them, in a cut-and-paste fashion, into one drawing of the hippodrome. This would explain the lack of proportion in the hippodrome illustration. Indeed, the Serpent Column in the hippodrome sketch does look very like a simple miniaturization of the larger illustration.

In both the drawing of the hippodrome and the sketch of the Serpent Column, the artist gives the bronze thirty or thirty-one coils (depending on how one counts them). If this is accurate, the lowest and more tightly wound coils must have been buried.

88. The head is pictured in, Pierre Devambez, *Grand bronzes du Musée de Stamboul* (Paris 1937) 9-12, and Pl. II; good top and bottom views can also be found in Gauer, 'Weihgeschenke aus den Perserkriegen', Tafel 4.

The identification of the hole which appears on the lowest coils in the sketch is problematic since there are many holes in the pillar now. One possible candidate is the small hole between the ninth and tenth coils (from the bottom). There are presently eighteen coils above this fairly low hole, suggesting that twelve coils were lost in 1700. Unfortunately, the candidate hole is on the northeast side of the column, rather than the southwest from which this drawing was probably made. A positive identification of this hole (if it is possible at all) would tell much about the original height of the column as well as the exact attitudes of the three heads. In any case, this illustration provides us with the best picture of the Serpent Column before its later unfortunate truncation.

A Damaged Talisman: 1600-1699

We have seen that before one lower jaw was lost, the Serpent Column was widely thought to provide protection against poisonous snakes. Sometime after the mutilation the story changed to include the defect. The small break on the talisman was translated into an equally small loss of power. The end result, however, was unchanged: the column repelled poisonous snakes. The new twist in the story: before the damage, the column had repelled them all. The lost jaw became such an integral part of the pillar's identity, that it was included in all subsequent Turkish miniatures depicting it.⁸⁹

After 1600, nearly all European and Ottoman sources for the column's folklore relate the new legend.⁹⁰ Perhaps the most

89. *Sur-name* miniatures (1582), Tahsin Öz, *Turkish Textiles and Velvets* (Ankara 1950) pls. 13, 15; *Huner-name* (ca. 1588), Casson, *Preliminary Report*, figs. 5, 6; Mansel, 'İstanbul'daki "Burmuli sütun"', 201, res. 14-9, 22.

90. The first record of the shift in popular belief is found in Schweigger, *Reyssbeschreibung*, 124, who was there in 1578. But the story was not then widespread. In 1600: Ali, in Ménage, 'Serpent Column', 171, n. 20; in 1604: Wild, *Reyssbeschreibung*, 332; in 1634: Evliya Effendi, ed. von Hammer, 19; in 1672: d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, IV, 467-8; in 1675/6: Spon and Wheler, *Voyage*, I, 178, and George Wheler, *A Journey into Greece in Company of Dr. Spon of Lyons* (London 1682) 185. The latter, based on the inscription on the *obelisk structilis* describing it as a 'brazen wonder,' believed the serpent column was once perched on its neighbour's apex. Aubrey de la Motraye later repeated this theory, but treated it with well-deserved scepticism; *Travels through Europe, Asia, and into Part of Africa* (London 1723) I, 196.

interesting story associated with the Serpent Column in the seventeenth century comes from Jean Dumont. His relation of 1690 is among the most vivid but, curiously, has escaped much attention.

[The Serpent Column] terminates on top with three hissing heads, which threaten, some say, the three parts of the world, according to the divisions which were made in those times; and they maintain that this column is none other than a hieroglyph of the reunified Empire of the East and West, which will extend its power over all the universe. But the more common opinion is otherwise: it is said that in the time of Leo the Wise, who was a great magician, there were three monstrous serpents which desolated the environs of Constantinople, to the point that everyone was obliged to submit to them. And to remedy this problem the Emperor, by his charms, made the three serpents come into a great ditch, which he had made in the middle of the Hippodrome, where they were killed and buried by the earth, by which it was filled. And afterwards to prevent there following a similar misfortune, and to keep it from happening a second time, he planted in the same place this column as a talisman against serpents, of which there are presently very few in this land.⁹¹

The first story is strikingly Greek, belonging to a much larger corpus of legends dealing with the rebirth of the Roman Empire and re-establishment of Constantinople as its capital.⁹² The more popular story of the three marauding serpents is an interesting twist on the old legend, giving Leo the Wise the credit Apollonius of Tyanae once enjoyed. Although Dumont later mentions the loss of one jaw (blaming it on Murat IV) he does not describe any magical effects of damage.⁹³

91. Du Mont, *Nouveau Voyage*, 173; my translation.

92. For a good bibliography on this folklore see, Speros Vryonis, Jr., *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley — Los Angeles 1971) 437-8, n. 108. Related folklore continued to help shape Greek history in later centuries and, to some extent, still does. See Michael Herzfeld, *Ours Once More: Folklore, Ideology, and the Making of Modern Greece* (Austin 1982).

93. Du Mont, *Nouveau Voyage*, 173.

The Second Mutilation: Truncated, 1700

The ancient bronze serpents, having survived over two millennia of natural and man-made catastrophes, met their end abruptly and in a most ignominious fashion. On the night of 20-21 October 1700, in an event still shrouded in intriguing mystery, the top portion of the column disappeared. When the sun rose the following morning the Serpent Column was only a spiral bronze stump. To understand the event, we must first sketch the circumstances in the Atmeidan at the time.

1700 was the beginning of the end for the Ottoman Empire. The previous year the Sultan had bought peace from the West at Karlowitz and in 1700 the details of specific treaties were to be ironed out. On 18 April the Polish ambassador Stanislaus Lesinski arrived in Istanbul to negotiate minor points and exchange ratifications with the Porte.⁹⁴ But he was not a gracious winner. During his formal entry into the capital, the ambassador was accompanied by a train of six hundred armed men wearing Turkish coats of mail taken after the Ottoman's failed siege of Vienna in 1683. Aubrey de la Motraye witnessed this display of bad taste:

This Sight seem'd very extraordinary to those of this Nation, especially to some old Spahis who had been at that siege, so unfortunate for them, and remembered these Coats of Mail to have belonged to their Fellows, who were there kill'd or taken prisoners. But as the Turks, when beaten as soundly as they had been in that War, are generally civil and humble, the Spahis discovered no other Discontent at this Ostentation, but in saying amongst themselves, *Back, back, bou foudolik giaourler*; See, see these proud infidels.⁹⁵

Lesinski and his entourage were put up in the palace of Ibrahim Pasha, located on the northwest side of the hippodrome, directly opposite the Serpent Column and the two obelisks.⁹⁶ This, in

94. *Theatrum Europaeum* (Frankfort-am-Main 1635-1738), XV, col. 867.

95. de la Motraye, *Travels*, I, 205.

96. de la Motraye calls it the "Palace with Cupolas" in the Atmeidan. Ménage, 'Serpent Column', 172, n. 28 correctly identifies this as the famous vizier's old palace. The *Theatrum Europaeum* records that the ambassador was lodged near the obelisk, not far from Hagia Sophia; XV, cols. 867-8.

itself, was unusual — Europeans usually lodged across the Golden Horn. The Poles had the advantage over the Sultan and they knew it. The Porte was, of course, unwilling to anger the westerners lest they damage the negotiations and threaten the much needed peace.⁹⁷ A few weeks after his arrival, Lesinski ordered the decapitation of a Pole who had recently converted to Islam but continued to visit his countrymen and share their liquor. The ambassador had the body thrown into the Atmeiden where it was found the following morning. De la Motraye noted how surprised the Turks were 'to see their new Proselyte thus Martyr'd; but not having any Proofs of the Fact, or not daring to accuse his Excellency, or any of his Court, whatever Suspicions they might have, they took it away, and buried it quietly.'⁹⁸ The nightly drinking and bold actions of the Poles make the state of the Atmeidan during their visit not difficult to imagine. Large parties undoubtedly spilled out into the open area occasionally, if only to escape the summer heat indoors. The hippodrome, in some ways, became a playground for the embassy. But by mid-October the fun was almost over. The ambassador was already on his way home and the last of his retinue were preparing for their own departure.⁹⁹ Then, on the night of 20-21 October, just before the last Poles left, the top of the Serpent Column was lost.

The *Nusret-name*, an Ottoman daily record of events, noted that on that night,

. . . at the time of the evening prayer, all three of the bronze serpents in the Hippodrome, which had stood firm for 1,500 years, broke all together at their necks and fell to the ground; yet there is no question of their being struck and smashed, for there was not even anyone nearby. They broke with a noise as if a powerful man were chopping down trees, and people who heard the noise reported what had happened.¹⁰⁰

97. On the general mood of the Ottomans in their relations with the West during those years, see Rifaat A. Abou-el-Haj, 'The Formal Closure of the Ottoman Frontier in Europe: 1699-1703', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 89 (1968) 467-75, esp. 469-70.

98. de la Motraye, *Travels*, I, 205-6.

99. de la Motraye, *Travels*, I, 207, states that Lesinski left around October 1, but the *Theatrum Europaeum* gives August 1 as the date; XV, col. 868.

100. Original text in and this translation by Ménage, 'Serpent Column', 173.

Based on this, Ménage concludes that ‘all three heads simply fell off: the Poles are exculpated . . .’.¹⁰¹ Perhaps, but, if so, there remain a number of disturbing questions. Why do none of those who describe the column before 1700 mention such an obvious structural weakness? The Serpent Column was truncated almost half-way down its exposed length. If the bronze at that point was, for some reason, weak, surely the heads would have begun to lean before the actual break. It is also noteworthy that the still extant portion of the bronze is, despite some cracks, holes, and three extra centuries of wear, still fairly sound. We should also wonder about the ‘noise as if a powerful man were chopping down trees.’ One can imagine hearing some creaking and perhaps a snap if the heads fell spontaneously, but not the repetitive striking sounds of a woodsman. This noise, which so many heard, could also not have resulted from the fall itself since that too is not repetitive and, more importantly, the Atmeidan was grass-covered at the time. And what happened to the broken portion of the pillar? It was not there in the morning.

If, instead, the *Nusret-name* entry is viewed in the context of the previous events in the hippodrome, the wording seems almost purposefully clever. The author too adamantly denies the possibility of vandalism ‘for there was not even anyone nearby’. If so, how did he know this? Where were the people who so clearly heard the clatter of the serpents’ demise? The analogy of the powerful man chopping down trees is also revealing. Why choose such a figure if the truncation was truly the result of aged bronze? De la Motraye implied that the Serpent Column’s mutilation was just one more example of the Turks overlooking Polish indiscretions.

Some little Time after, the two Heads remaining on the Serpentine Pillar were broken off, and carried away one dark Night, of which the Turks took no more Notice, than they had done of the Death of their Proselyte; . . . The Franks suspected that some of the Ambassador’s Train had carried them off, and that was all.¹⁰²

101. Ibid.

102. de la Motraye, *Travels*, 1, 206.

The *Nusret-name* entry, therefore, confirms de la Motraye's assessment of the Turkish willingness to avoid conflicts with the Polish embassy. Nevertheless, the coyness of the wording suggests an author unhappy about the white-washing of the vandals of the ancient talisman.¹⁰³

Whatever the official Turkish line, others in the European community continued to affirm that the Poles were responsible for the destruction and theft. On 17 April 1701, Edmund Chishull wrote in his diary that 'this monument was rudely broken from the top of the pillar by some attendants of the late Polish ambassador, whose lodgings were appointed in this cirque, opposite the said pillar.¹⁰⁴ The rumour, though, had a short half-life. Tournefort, in 1702, heard that the entire column was toppled, the heads lost, and the remaining portion re-erected between the two obelisks. The mutilation occurred, he noted, 'after the Peace of Karlowitz,' suggesting that he heard that the two events were linked.¹⁰⁵ But after Tournefort, Europeans were more likely to blame the Turks for the mutilation — when they noticed it at all.¹⁰⁶ In any event, no more fingers were pointed at the Polish legation of 1700.

Whatever happened in the Atmeidan that night, it probably occurred after midnight. The *Nusret-name* entry states that column's destruction was reported by people who heard it, but apparently did not see it happen, and de la Motraye records that the night was dark. But on the evening of 20 October 1700, the moon was at six-tenths illumination, fairly bright even under cloud cover. This suggests that the Serpent Column was truncated after moonset, which occurred that night at 11.50 p.m.

103. Mansel stresses that the Turks were, indeed, the last to want harm to come to the column. He leaves the door open for Polish complicity, but also suggests lightning or rapid temperature change as possible culprits. 'Istanbul'daki "Burmali sütun"', 206-9.

104. Edmund Chishull, *Travels in Turkey and back again to England* (London 1747) 40-1.

105. J. P. Tournefort, *Relations d'un voyage du Levant* (Paris 1717) I, 512.

106. For example, Adolphus Slade, *Records of Travel in Turkey and Greece, 1829-1831* (London 1854) 390, who claimed that Mehmed II truncated the column 'to show his contempt for the emblem of collective wisdom'.

What became of the missing section? The upper portion of one head was discovered in 1848 near Hagia Sophia by the Swiss architect Fossati. As de la Motraye and Tournefort make clear, however, that head was likely knocked off sometime before the full truncation of the column. But what of the main trunk, necks, and other two heads? Bourquelot, ultimately citing Katheodoris, claimed that one head may have been preserved in the Sultan's menagerie (housed in the old sphendone) and was later transported to the insane asylum which bordered the Atmeidan. The French scholar tried and failed to verify the report in 1860.¹⁰⁷ Albert Howe Lyber, in his history of Suleiman's reign, claimed that 'the heads . . . are now in the treasury of the Old Seraglio at Constantinople.'¹⁰⁸ It is possible that these authors simply mistook the head which Fossati discovered for the whole group. Lyber may also have misread Richard Pococke, who in the eighteenth century stated that 'part of the serpentine pillar is broken off; at the grand signor's seraglio of Sadabat, there is one made in imitation of it, but not so large.'¹⁰⁹

Casson was hopeful that the excavations in 1927 would offer some clue to the fate of the lost section of the Serpent Column, but no trace of it was found. He did note, however, that 'the presence in the Turkish strata of numerous crucibles containing bronze slag suggests the fate of all the fragments other than the one surviving head . . .'¹¹⁰ But since much of the Turkish strata in the hippodrome is, in fact, displaced soil from the site of the old imperial palace, the crucibles could really belong to almost any period.

If the contemporary European authors are correct, which seems likely, then the upper portion of the Serpent Column was borne away by Polish attendants in late October 1700. It may have been

107. Bourquelot, 'La Colonne serpentine', 47.

108. Albert Howe Lybyer, *The Government of the Ottoman Empire in the Time of Suleiman the Magnificent* (Cambridge, Mass 1913) 240 n.

109. Richard Pococke, *A Description of the East and some other Countries* (London 1745) II, part 2, 131. It is not clear what Pococke was referring to.

110. Casson, *Preliminary Report*, 14.

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transported to Poland or, more likely, sold to a collector of antiquities. The market for purloined artifacts was exceptionally good in eighteenth century Istanbul. In either case, we should perhaps not despair that the missing ancient bronze will once again someday come to light.

*University of Illinois,
Urbana-Champaign*

THE SERPENT COLUMN OF DELPHI IN CONSTANTINOPLE

Plate 1



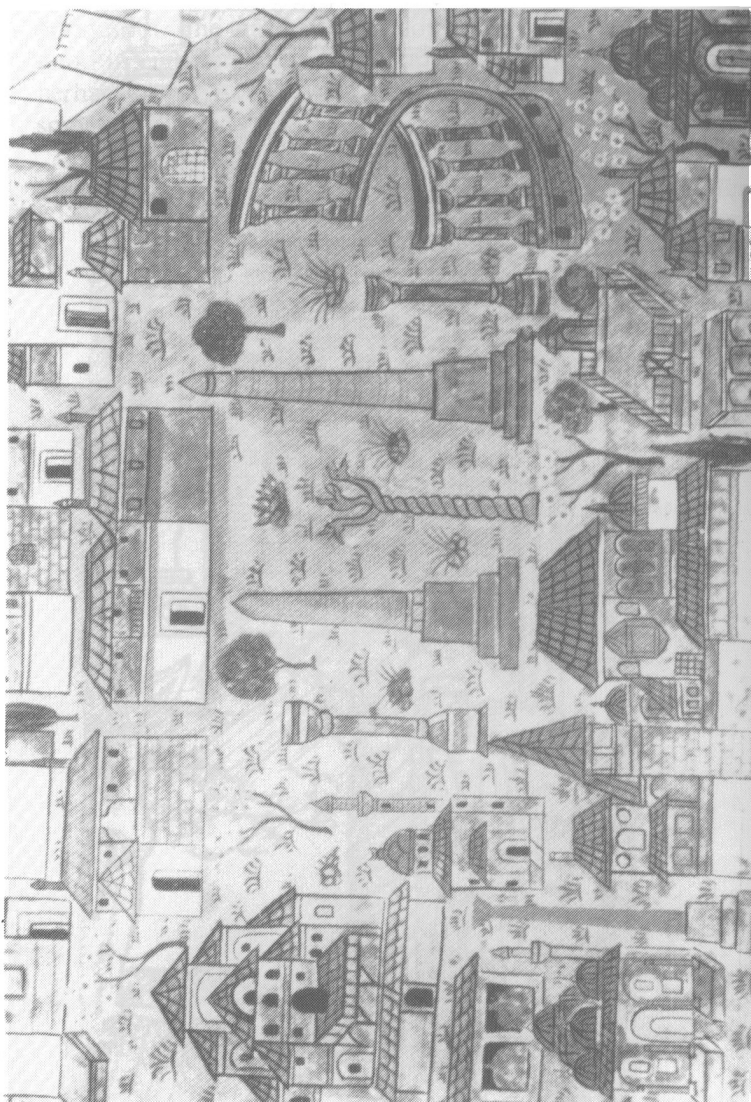


Plate 2

THE SERPENT COLUMN OF DELPHI IN CONSTANTINOPLE

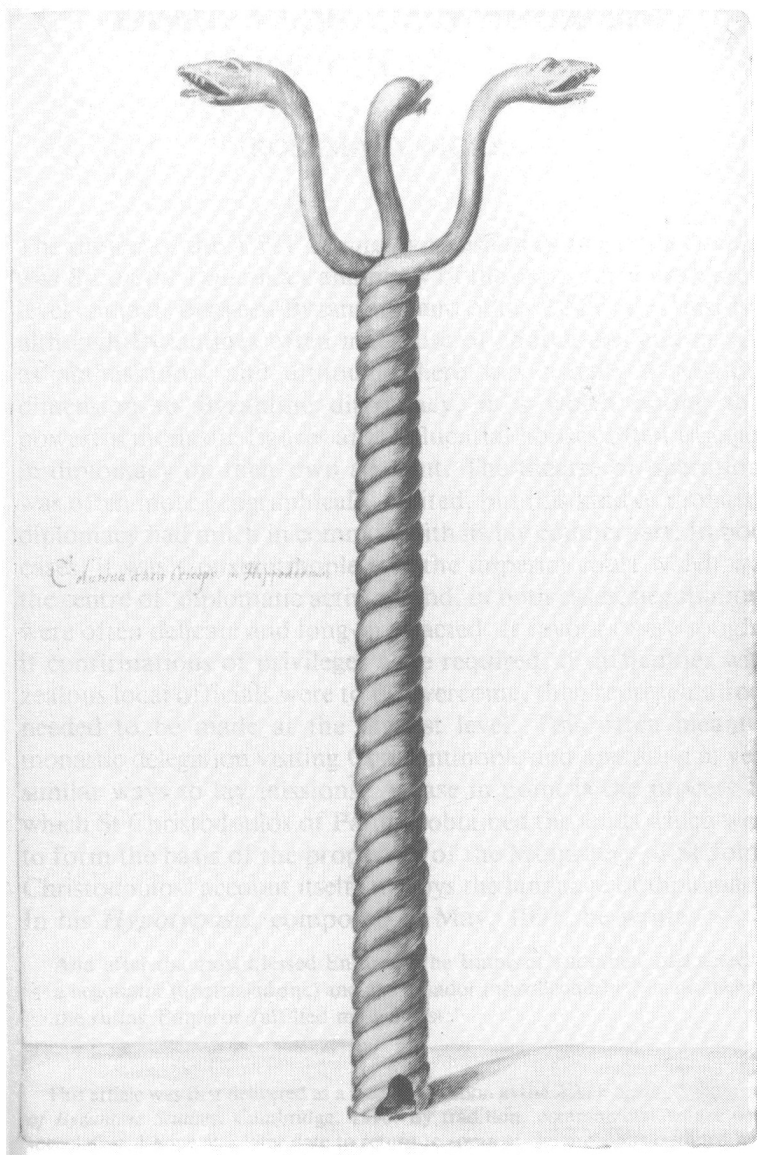


Plate 3

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